

**EVANGELIZING
KOREAN WOMEN AND
GENDER IN THE EARLY
MODERN WORLD**

GENDER AND POWER IN THE PREMODERN WORLD

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EVANGELIZING KOREAN WOMEN AND GENDER IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

THE POWER OF BODY AND TEXT

SUSAN BROOMHALL

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NOTES ON THE TEXT

UNLESS QUOTING FROM sources or the names of scholars, this work adopts the revised romanization conventions developed by the National Academy of Korean Language. Macrons are used in Japanese romanization, following the revised Hepburn system, except where the word has become a common loanword in English.

Names of historical individuals typically follow Korean, Japanese, and Chinese language conventions, with family names preceding generational, and given and baptismal names.

The names of modern scholars are presented in the order and style used in the relevant publication, although they are consolidated under one version in the bibliography.

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TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS

- 1549 Arrival of the first Jesuit, Francis Xavier, in Japan
- 1566 First known investigation of a mission to the Joseon kingdom by the Jesuits, instigated by Superior Cosme de Torres, explored by Gaspar Vilela.
- Late 1560s Establishment of the Jesuit enclave at Nagasaki
- 1587 Toyotomi Hideyoshi issues anti-Christian edict
- 1592 The first Japanese invasion of the Joseon kingdom
- 1593 *Conversions of captured Koreans begin in Japan*
Jesuit Gregorio de Céspedes arrives in Joseon in the train of Konishi Yukinaga
Retreat of Japanese forces
- 1597 The second Japanese invasion of the Joseon kingdom
- 1598 Death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, withdrawal of Japanese forces from Joseon
- 1606 *The Jesuit João Rodrigues Giram documents Ana, Ursula, and Clara in his annual letter*
- 1607 King Seonjo sends envoys to the Tokugawa leadership, seeking repatriation of captured Koreans
- 1609 *The Church of Saint Lawrence is built by the evangelized Korean community in Nagasaki*
- 1612 *Marina joins the community of nuns in Miyako*
Julia is exiled for her faith to Ōshima, then Niijima, later Kōzushima
- 1613 *Máxima is punished for her faith in Arima*
- 1614 Tokugawa Ieyasu's anti-Christian edict
Marina goes into exile in Manila
- 1619 *Julia is investigated in Nagasaki for evangelizing activities*
- 1620 *Destruction of the Church of Saint Lawrence in Nagasaki*

- 1622 *Inés is beheaded in Nagasaki*
- 1624 *Catalina is beheaded in Shimo Innai, Akita*
- 1627 First Manchu (Later Jin) conflict with the Joseon kingdom
- 1629 *Isabel is investigated and tortured at Mount Unzen*
- 1636 Second Manchu (Qing) conflict with the Joseon kingdom
- Marina dies in Manila*
- Lady Gang with her husband Crown Prince Sohyeon, Lady Jang and Prince Bongrim, and their entourage are taken as political hostages of the Qing to Shenyang*

INTRODUCTION

IN THE LATTER years of the reign of the Korean King Seonjo (r. 1567–1608), Europe's late sixteenth century and the Momoyama period in Japan, violent events provoked the dispersal of Korean women and men throughout the Asian region, some even further. The invasions by Japanese forces of the Korean kingdom, then ruled by the I (or Yi) dynasty and known as Joseon, represented perhaps the most intense military conflict among East Asian peoples before the late nineteenth century.¹ Through these invasions, the effective if not official leader of Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, had hoped to gain a strategic foothold from which he could conquer Ming China. When Seonjo refused to acquiesce to Hideyoshi's demands that the Joseon kingdom be used as a steppingstone for Japanese troops, in part because of Joseon's tributary relationship with the Ming emperors of China, Hideyoshi attempted to force access. Over six years, the Joseon kingdom suffered devastation to its lands and resources through violent conflict fought among Japanese, Joseon and Ming forces, and Joseon's people became spoils of war. Accounts of the experiences of Korean women and men in the conflict and diaspora were documented in many local sources as well as others that traversed the globe. Both Korean individuals, and the reports that narrated some of their activities within and beyond the borders of Joseon, travelled through organizations motivated by evangelism, the origins of which were in Europe. Chief among these were the Catholic mission orders.

This work analyzes evangelizing Korean women in both its meanings. It examines how Korean women came to engage with Catholic missions and the nature of that engagement, as both subjects for, and agents of, catechizing practices. It explores the interactions between Catholic Christianity and Korean women as these are recorded in mission archives. As such, it is also about the power of texts written by missionary men because it is through their reports that we have accounts about these women. The perceptions that authors presented in these texts about Korean women, their experiences and their activities were relational in nature. These were shaped in part by how missionary men understood themselves, in relation to each other, those whom they evangelized and those whom they sought to evangelize, variously, as Christian men, as European men (if they were), as Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese men predominantly, as elite men or otherwise. They were influenced by their own perceptions of the nature of the labour they individually conducted for the mission and how they understood the missionary endeavour itself. Their texts conveyed, mostly implicitly but sometimes explicitly, how they felt about themselves in relation to Korean men as well as Korean

¹ There is a vast literature on this conflict in multiple languages, referenced in this work as it is pertinent to specific areas of analysis.

women, and how they perceived Korean gender relations. They judged Korean people, and women and men separately, in relation to other peoples they encountered in the region, such as Japanese, Chinese, Macanese and Filipino women and men. The mission archives contained too, albeit in mediated ways, some perceptions of Korean women about these missionary men, other Korean women, Korean men, and peoples from other societies with whom they interacted in the region. Gender ideologies shaped both interactions between missionary men and Korean women and the way that women's experiences would be narrated in mission archives.

The relationship of Korean women, in particular, to the Christian mission work at this period in Asia has never been the subject of detailed analysis. Studies of Christian developments in Korea take varied starting points to their research, depending on their focus on the first missionary endeavours, on the first martyrs—in Korea or elsewhere—or on the institutional foundation of Catholicism and Protestantism.² The very substantial research produced by the historian Juan Garcia Ruiz-de-Medina, S. J. on the engagement of Catholic missions, especially the Society of Jesus, with the Joseon kingdom from the sixteenth century, made available vital documentation about Korean women, providing significant foundations for critical study.³ Joseon's engagement with Christianity at this period has since been further developed and nuanced by scholars examining diverse Asian sites where interactions between Korean people and Catholic missions occurred over Europe's early modern period.⁴ For example, Pierre-Emmanuel Roux's work on the contact zone of Beijing for Korean envoys stresses the importance of transnational encounters for the spread of knowledge about Catholic Christianity.⁵ Yet, to date, how Korean women might have experienced mission engagement differently to men, and consequently responded in different ways, has not been explored.

There is evidence, however, that women and men did respond to Christian mission engagement differently, not least because missionary men perceived women and men differently, but also because of the contexts and priorities of their own lives that were shaped by the constraints and possibilities of their community's gender ideologies. This is demonstrated in studies of women's participation in Christian missionary endeavours in the Late Joseon and Japanese colonial periods, Europe's late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries. Park Min Yea has analyzed the evidence of women falsifying their marital status in order to live as Catholics in the Late Joseon period, a strategic

2 Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea*; Gim Seongtae 김성태. *Hangukcheonju gyohoesa* 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic church history]; Baker, ed., *Critical Readings on Christianity in Korea*; Baker, "The Transformation of the Catholic Church in Korea"; Kim and Kim, eds. *A History of Korean Christianity*; Baker and Rausch, *Catholics and Anti-Catholicism in Chosŏn Korea*. See further references below.

3 However, there has been considerable criticism regarding his arguments in favour of conceptualizing a Korean Catholic Church before the end of Europe's eighteenth century. Ruiz-de-Medina, *Origenes de la Iglesia Católica Coreana*; a revised and expanded version of which was published in English as *The Catholic Church in Korea*.

4 See studies referenced in [Chapter Four](#).

5 Roux, "The Catholic Experience of Chosŏn Envoys in Beijing."

negotiation of their society's values.⁶ Christine Sungjin Chang and Donald N. Clark have both explored women's evangelizing work among other women, especially as "Biblewomen," in the early Protestant Church in Korea, while Hyaeweol Choi called attention to how the power relations that underpinned ideas of modernity shaped how women were perceived, and themselves responded, to missionary endeavours.⁷ Don Baker has observed that the development of Catholicism in Joseon during Europe's later eighteenth century did not fundamentally change that society's patriarchal structures, arguing that "Korean Catholics acted less to undermine the old patriarchal and hierarchical social order than to replace it with an alternative but similar social order."⁸ As these examples suggest, scholars have, over some fifty years now, nuanced their ideas about the opportunities and the challenges that Christianity presented for Korean women, in domestic environments and court culture, as individuals and as a cohort.⁹

The present work is also concerned with evangelizing gender more broadly, in the sense that gender performances that reflected and conveyed certain understandings of appropriate masculinity, and assumptions about appropriate feminine behaviour, were fundamental to mission activity. Analysis of the influence of gender ideologies in missionary and colonizing activities during Europe's early modern period is a relatively recent development in the scholarship.¹⁰ Yet these ideologies were embedded in mission work. As Ulrike Strasser has argued, the specifically patriarchal dynamics of the Society of Jesus informed performances of particular kinds of masculinity and how missions operated.¹¹ I suggest that European missionaries were implicitly promoting certain views about gender relations in and through their work. These religious actors performed their status and expectations as men in their actions and in their writings, and as they understood those of others across the region. This shaped how missionaries regarded East Asian women and men, interpreted their expressions in words and

6 Park Min Yea 박민예, "Sinyubakaereul tonghae bon cheonjugyohoe nae gwabu sinjawa wijanggwabu." 辛酉迫害를 통해 본 천주교회 내 과부 신자와 僞裝寡婦 [A study of the existence of widow Catholic devotees and false widows in early Joseon Catholicism].

7 Chang, "Hidden but Real"; Clark, "Mothers, Daughters, Biblewomen, and Sisters"; Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea*.

8 Baker, "The Korean Catholic Church's First Hundred Years," 10–11 at 10, responding to Choi Seon-hye's work, "The Holy Mother and the Son of God"; on specifically Catholic experiences, see Kim Jeong Sook 김정숙, "Joseonhugi seohaksuyonggwae yeoseonggwannui byeonhwa." 조선 후기 서학수용과 여성관의 변화 [A changed perception of womanhood through the introduction of Catholicism during the late Joseon dynasty]; Kim Jeong Sook 김정숙, "Cheonjugyowa joseon yeoseongui mannam (1784–1831)" 천주교와 조선 여성의 만남 (1784–1831) [The meeting of Catholicism and women (1784–1831)]; Torrey, "Confucian Exemplars and Catholic Saints"; Torrey, "Between Heroism and Despair."

9 Baker, ed., *Critical Readings on Christianity in Korea*, vol. 2, pt. 4 and vol. 3.

10 Amsler, *Jesuits and Patriarchs*; Laven, ed., "The Jesuits and Gender"; Laven, "Jesuits and Eunuchs."

11 Strasser, *Missionary Men in the Early Modern World*.

through bodies, and reflected upon their suitability for evangelizing as subjects and as proselytizers themselves. We can occasionally put these ideas in dialogue with gender ideologies expressed by Asian-born converts or by non-Christian onlookers and see where moments of confrontation or indeed alignment occurred. Predominantly, though, I consider how missionaries' conceptualizations of gender relations affected not only decisions that determined their own activities in the mission, but also how others, both women and men, in the East Asian region could engage with the Christian message.

Thus far, gender-informed analyses have begun to explore mainly the role of women in missionary activities, considering such diverse aspects as the contours of their spiritual agency and their value as powerful sponsors of mission activity. Although women were denied participation as full members of some orders and societies, a number of scholars have demonstrated, for example, how their financial support was sought to support mission work.¹² Additionally, Nadine Amsler's analysis of Jesuit activities related to women in Ming and Qing China highlights the complex position of the Jesuits regarding women as converts and the proselytizing activities considered appropriate for them.¹³ Her research emphasizes the dynamic female religious sociabilities and practices that shaped Chinese Catholicism in that period, where domestic households, finances, and networks could support and sustain Jesuit priests in their work.

So, too, were women active in the Christian movements in Momoyama and Tokugawa Japan, as detailed studies of their activities by Kataoka Rumiko and Haruko Nawata Ward indicate.¹⁴ Studies of Christian missions in Japan have identified Korean women among those engaged with Christianity and the Jesuits there. A small number of individual Korean women converts have been the subject of scholarly accounts.¹⁵ However, there has been little broader analytical exploration of the particularities of Korean women's interactions with Christian missions. Studies of Japanese women's experiences, especially the foundational work of Kataoka and Ward, provides rich evidence from which we can set Korean women's experiences in wider context. Unlike Japanese women, the vast majority of Korean women did not meet missionary men, ideas, and practices in their homeland. These women were not operating in their own society but rather in locales such as Japan, China, Macao, and Manila, as part of a diaspora of Korean people removed from the Joseon kingdom often as survivors of wartime violence. This profound upheaval imposed new dynamics on the encounters and interactions between Christian missions and Korean women, and new possibilities for Korean women's actions and participation in Christian practice. It also diverges from the contexts in which women experienced Christian missions in their homeland in the later Joseon period, Europe's late eighteenth century and later still, under Japanese colonial rule.

¹² Hsia, ed., *Noble Patronage and Jesuit Missions*.

¹³ Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*.

¹⁴ Kataoka Rumiko 片岡瑠美子, *Kirishitan jidai no jishi shūdōkai: Miyako no bikunitachi* キリシタン時代の女子修道会 [Women of the Christian era]; Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*.

¹⁵ Studies on these women will be referenced throughout the work.

This book concentrates its focus on the approximately fifty-year period that begins with the Japanese invasions of Joseon and extends through the violent conflicts some forty years later between Joseon and the Later Jin, who emerged to rule China as the Qing dynasty, concluding in the establishment of diplomatic exchanges between Joseon and Qing. The consequences of these deeply disruptive events meant that Korean women encountered Christian missions primarily outside the Joseon kingdom.

Korean women, however, are not an easy cohort to identify through the region. Enslaved people from the Joseon kingdom, for example, were often documented in the region as Japanese, because they had been rendered slaves in the Japanese invasions of their homeland.¹⁶ Because of their interest in the potential of the Joseon kingdom as a future site for mission activities, however, missionary authors do make reference to and reflections upon interactions with Koreans specifically and Korean women in particular.¹⁷ It remains difficult though to assess how many women from the Joseon kingdom identified themselves or were identified as Christians, or engaged with Christian missions for social and practical support—likely more than were individually referenced in Christian texts. Very few authors provided the names of individuals among the cohort of Korean converts and adherents they discussed. The value of these women to their writers' accounts did not lie in their individual subjectivity but most often as examples of types of behaviours. Further, the sources rarely provide detailed biographical information with which we can construct trajectories and analyze decisions made across women's lives. Those authors who did name the female adherents that they were discussing, women whom we now know as Máxima, Clara, Ursula, Ana, Isabel, Catalina, and Inés, typically reported on their actions at only one moment of their lives, sometimes without dating the event. A single Korean woman, Marina, is known to us from a semi-biographical account of her experiences as a Christian that was made after her death.¹⁸ Yet it is another woman, known to the missionaries as Julia, who is perhaps the best documented of all known evangelized Korean women, with a wide range of Christian authors, religious and secular, writing about her deep engagement with Christianity, her activities among the local community, her eventual exile and impoverishment. These establish a more complete biography of her life after conversion than any other Korean woman yet known, and these documents help to enrich the analysis of subsequent chapters.¹⁹ While recognizing their limitations of reach and particular perspectives, mission archives offer us an important resource for exploring aspects of a range of Korean women's lives at this period.

16 As Lúcio de Sousa notes in his *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 127, 541–42.

17 Korean individuals in Japan were also documented in European records connected to non-Catholic institutions. A Korean man known as Miguel, for example, was listed as the interpreter for the English trading post at Hirado. Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 106.

18 Ruiz-de-Medina, "The First Korean Catholic Nun in History"; Wong, "Marina Pak (c. 1572–1636)."

19 Ruiz-de-Medina, "History and Fiction of Ota Julia."

The Power of the Body and the Text

At one level, this work considers the power of gender ideologies to shape missions. At another, it draws particular attention to two forms of power that operated in the interactions of Korean women with Christian missions, as they are primarily represented through the records of missionary men. The first is the disruptive, unstable force that circulated around gendered bodies, particularly the missionaries' concept of a sexualized female body. The acute vulnerability of displaced Korean women to sexual violence proved a considerable source of economic and other forms of power to some, while creating concerns among missionary men about their responsibilities and duties as men, as father figures, and as spiritual advisors to women they perceived to be at risk. The sexually vulnerable female body could supercharge both women and men to commit extraordinary acts justified as protective measures but also impose restrictions on the ambitions and activities of Korean women as well as the missionary men with whom they interacted.

Moreover, in an environment in which language comprehension was not always assured, the body came to the fore as a key site through which Christian engagement could be performed and witnessed. A new literature focused upon emotional experience in Catholic mission cultures has begun to explore how spiritual feeling behaviours were interpreted in cross-cultural settings.²⁰ Bodies were understood through identities that related both to culture and gender in the accounts of missionary men, and those of Korean women and men were interpreted to perform and display Christian feeling and feelings about Christianity differently to each other and to Japanese people with whom the missionaries were familiar. In their reports, bodies provided missionary men with evidence of feeling experiences as converts and martyrs, as non-Christians and as apostates. They demonstrated religious perceptions and perceptibility in action and in sexual continence, and as the bodies of evangelized women and men became sites of state-sanctioned violence.

A second form of power was that of written texts, to make meanings of Korean women (and Korean men), their identities, and their engagement with Christianity, interpretations that circulated around the globe and that shaped women's experiences. Missionary men are fundamentally important to what we can know about evangelizing Korean women. These texts formed part of an extensive Christian literature, but most of the sources drawn upon here were more specifically constructed within the context of Catholic evangelizing practice. These mission archives present complex narratives. Authors and recipients of these texts almost always shared Christian faith; they were overwhelmingly men writing to other men, and their circulation through mission outposts across the world may have tended to consolidate and embed certain viewpoints, as members assured themselves and each other of the importance of their work. Recent scholarship on the Jesuits has sought to recognize their actions as part

²⁰ McLisky, Vallgård, and Midena, eds., *Emotions and Christian Missions*; Haskell and Garrod, eds., *Changing Hearts*.

of a global movement, even in locale-specific studies.²¹ Missionary writings, although authored by individuals with different experiences and life contexts, were produced as part of a collective endeavour, with a potentially universalizing tendency. Here I use the terminology of *Kirishitan*, a Japanese romanization of the Portuguese word *christão* (Christian), and evangelized to describe Japanese and Joseon Korean adherents to the Christian faith respectively, in order to recognize the possibility that their experiences of Christianity may have been felt differently to the manner in which missionaries ascribed it to them, perspectives that are hard to capture directly in the mission archives.

Scholars now give consideration to the dynamics of power between religious men and the women they guided, including in the production of their written accounts. Jodi Bilinkoff, for example, has recently explored the relationships of spiritual directors and female penitents in the production of *vitae* about these women, and has emphasized the importance of understanding religious men's ambitions in creating these works.²² Her call to analyze the contexts in which individual men produced Catholic life-writings has been taken up by J. Michelle Molina and Ulrike Strasser in their study of two hagiographical accounts produced by Jesuits of the seventeenth-century mystic Catarina de San Juan who lived in colonial Mexico. Here they seek to dismantle a historiographic tendency to see Europeans as an unnuanced cohort, rather than individuals with their own contexts, concerns, and individual relationships.²³ The context of interactions in Japan and the works produced often lacked shared linguistic and scribal competencies between parties, meaning that interpretations of the missionaries' written accounts could not be challenged through negotiation between their interlocutors and subjects. Ward has observed how missionaries' narratives of Japanese women replaced descriptions of their apostolic activities with praise of their piety and wifely submission.²⁴ Yet, although the missionaries' accounts that provide most of our information to the activities of evangelizing Korean women in this work were not balanced in their power dynamics, they were at least the product of relationships. Bilinkoff's emphasis on aspects of reciprocity within the relationships in her cases thus provides a productive analytical lens here too. Most (although not all) authors knew the women that they wrote about personally, and their accounts reported conversations and activities that they saw the women engaged in, interactions in which the authors often positioned themselves as spiritual guides. While women were not co-authors of these texts and held no control over how they were represented, the missionaries could not have written these accounts without the women who were their subjects.

21 Russell, *Being a Jesuit*; Russell, "The Jesuit Missionary Path from Italy to Asia"; Strasser, *Missionary Men in the Early Modern World*; Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*.

22 Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*.

23 Molina and Strasser, "Missionary Men and the Global Currency of Female Sanctity." See also Allan Greer's *Mohawk Saint*, which similarly pays attention to the context in which particular hagiographical accounts were being produced by Jesuit, and other, authors.

24 Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, 290.

For this study, most important at least quantitatively among the mission archives are those produced by the Society of Jesus. The Society's men were for a long time the only mission order with papal authority to evangelize in Japan, a key locale for Korean-Christian interactions.²⁵ Understanding its particular mission strategies and their distinction from those of the mendicant orders who later both entered Christian evangelizing work in Japan and interacted with Korean peoples across the Asian region are key to interpreting how Korean women are represented in this archive. Yet mission texts varied substantially, perhaps surprisingly so in these circumstances, reflecting their authors' individual characters and personal experiences, as well as by their wide range of readers, in the Asian region and in Europe, within specific mission orders and societies, and in different positions of power within institutional hierarchies.²⁶ By reading across a variety of mission sources, as well as other local archives the insights of which can remind us of the omissions and limitations of such sources, therefore, a rich and nuanced picture of Korean women's interactions with the Christian missions in the early modern world can be established.

Importantly, these Christian archives were not only written for internal consumption within their orders. Many of these texts were intended for wider readerships. Not least among these was a series of female patrons whose role in the evangelizing of the East Asian region is now being recognized. The Castilian Jesuit Pedro Morejón, for example, whose accounts provide vital information about Korean women, dedicated his first published work on the martyrs in Japan in 1614 to Luisa de Padilla y Manrique, Countess of Aranda.²⁷ Catholic women in Europe were perceived by men who compiled the mission archives as critical, primarily as direct sponsors, networkers, and fund-raisers for their activities. Yet missionary men also recognized elite women's own evangelizing ambitions, as the Flemish Jesuit Antoine Thomas reflected of Maria Guadalupe de Lencastre y Cárdenas Manrique, Duchess of Aveiro de Arcos y Maqueda, to Adrian Petrus, Procurator of China, in 1688: "she has in mind great designs, especially for the Oriental Missions."²⁸ Thomas encouraged her fervent engagement not only with stories of evangelized people and the struggles of Society men in that process but also with new knowledge of the region itself, which he promised to send in the form of a map

25 On the Society of Jesus and Korea specifically, see the recent overview by Han and Rausch, "The Society of Jesus and Korea."

26 As is increasingly recognized in the scholarship on the Society of Jesus, see, for example, Romano, "Multiple Identities, Conflicting Duties and Fragmented Pictures." See also Friedrich, "Government and Information-Management in Early Modern Europe"; and Brockey's discussion of nationality in relation to the Jesuit mission in China, "Root and Branch."

27 On Luisa de Padilla y Manrique (1590–1646), see Egido, "La Nobleza virtuosa de la Condesa de Aranda."

28 Madrid, February 8, 1688, *Bibliotheca Asiatica*, 80. On Maria Guadalupe de Lencastre y Cárdenas Manrique (1630–1715), see Gillespie, "The 'Mother of Missions'"; Burrus, ed., *Kino Writes to the Duchess*. Also discussed in Boxer, "Macao as a Religious and Commercial Entrepôt," 87–88.

of the Joseon kingdom, a land that was then awaiting its own dedicated Jesuit mission.²⁹ Finally, these texts also hold historiographical power. They have given us the sources to reconstruct past faith worlds and the lives of women otherwise little documented. Christian writings amplified the voices of a cohort of Korean-born women to which we have few other means of access.

Structure

This book asks how gender ideologies and assumptions held power to shape the agency of Korean women and men in relation to evangelization, not least but not only their spiritual agency. Applying an intersectional lens to understanding of their identities, it considers how evangelized Korean women especially were perceived as distinct, from others who held or practised other beliefs, from Japanese women, and from Korean men, cohorts with which their identity was frequently constructed relationally within the mission archives. Further, it seeks to analyze how these perceptions shaped the realities of their experiences with the Christian faith and how we can know of these.

To do so, the book explores four areas of missionary interactions, following a loosely chronological framework of events in the region. [Chapter 1](#) analyzes how gender ideologies influenced the nature and context in which knowledge of Korean people and Christian teachings were first exchanged, focusing on the Joseon kingdom and Japan as sites of encounter. [Chapter 2](#) then explores how evangelized Korean women and men were seen to form part of, and contribute to, a Christian community in Japan, as well as the ways in which they shaped an active apostolate for themselves. In a context in which authorities progressively restricted the possibilities of Christian practice in Japan, the [third chapter](#) investigates the representation of varied forms of suffering, from the psychic to the fatal, sustained by evangelized Koreans of both sexes, exploring the meaning of these experiences as forms of belonging to the Catholic Christian community. Finally, in [Chapter 4](#), as Christian adherents in Japan moved beyond its borders, I examine the inter-relationship of agency and mobility in the region for evangelized Korean women and men as it was understood and presented by Catholic authors. In so doing, this work identifies how gendered dynamics established expectations and realities about living Christian beliefs for evangelized Korean women in the early modern world.

²⁹ Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 180n23.

Chapter I

ENCOUNTER

THIS CHAPTER ANALYZES how Catholic missionaries, primarily Jesuits based in Japan, considered the people of the Joseon kingdom as a target of missionary endeavours in Europe's later sixteenth century. It explores how varied masculinities performed by Jesuit men in their written texts informed missionary endeavours related to Joseon, not only in the context of other faith groups operating in the region, but as they experienced relationships with others in the Society. Collectively, these discussions circulating in the Jesuit correspondence across Asia and Europe produced assessments, conceptualized in gendered terms, of both the kingdom's people and its relationship to surrounding powers such as Japan and China. In their encounter with Korean people, Jesuit men utilized existing pathways of trade and communication among peoples in the region but also the opportunities opened up by contemporary political and military events.¹ These assessments were thus produced in a context of violence inflicted on Korean populations that profoundly shaped the Jesuit encounter with Joseon, created conflicting perspectives and narratives among Jesuits about the nature of their activities and ambitions, and about the perceptibility of Koreans to the Christian message. This determined both the nature of missionary work and the identification of specific Korean cohorts for missionary endeavours. Among them were Korean women, who, as this chapter examines, were perceived by Jesuits to be exposed to specific vulnerabilities but who also presented opportunities for the mission as a discrete cohort holding key values.

The Joseon Kingdom: "The Treasure Kept for the Man who Most Merits It"

Despite the Joseon kingdom's trading and diplomatic ties with Japan and tributary relationship with Ming China, and the circulation of enslaved Korean peoples in the region, Catholic sources that documented knowledge of the kingdom in the later sixteenth century tended to suggest that its population was almost entirely closed to external contact other than that controlled by the kingdom itself. This narrative offered both a call to arms for its authors as well as a rationale as to why specific resources would be required to support efforts to extend communication to the kingdom. Jesuit information conveyed from Japan appeared to come from the Society's local hosts as well as from European traders who had encountered Korean populations in shipwreck events. Together, by the 1590s these sources had established two competing images of Joseon—one of a masculine culture dominated by violence and another, perhaps more

¹ For a recent survey of the vast scholarship on the Society of Jesus' mission in Japan, see Fujikawa, "Studies on the Jesuit Japan Mission."

attractive, of a king already subordinated to the Ming emperor. Importantly, in both depictions, the kingdom was unexposed to the Christian faith or Christian peoples.

In November 1571, the Portuguese Jesuit Gaspar Vilela wrote to General of the Order, Francisco Borja, from Goa, having only recently left Japan after a period of over ten years' expansive proselytizing across different territories there during what had been a period of intense conflict among the Japanese states. He narrated how around 1565 he had been selected to instigate the Society's first mission to Joseon: "Five years ago it seemed good to Father Cosme de Torres to send a father there to find out what could be done."² Although the many wars in Japan had prevented him from carrying out what he personalized as "my wishes," Vilela wrote optimistically of his hopes for proselytizing in the Joseon kingdom.³ The reports he had been able to gather while living in Japan framed Joseon society through descriptions primarily of the skills and attributes of higher status Korean men, those whose activities were most visible to Japanese and Chinese eyewitnesses involved in trade and diplomacy. Vilela considered the communication pathways that could be used, noting that, although the Korean language was distinct, "they write with Chinese characters, and so are understood by the Chinese easily."⁴ Contemporary accounts, however, also suggested Joseon's reputation for violence. Among them was the report of the Calabrian Jesuit Antonio Prenestino made in 1578 who had his own narrow escape off the coast of the Joseon kingdom and relayed the opinions of the vessel's Portuguese crew that it was an "island of Tartars" containing "barbaric and violent people."⁵ In Vilela's text, Joseon violence was re-framed instead as implicitly masculine spirit and skill: "They are a spirited people, expert with the bow, well accustomed to fight on horseback with all kinds of weapons, but chiefly with arrows."⁶ Vilela's account created a Joseon inhabited by men not dissimilar to those with whom the Jesuits already interacted in a Japan that was then embroiled in war.

Perhaps with more optimism than certainty, Vilela reported that Koreans "they say are a friendly people" and that a large population could be exposed to the Christian

2 Goa, November 3, 1571; ARSI, JapSin 7-III, fol. 80v: "Avera 5 anos *que* pareseo bon ao *padre* cosme de tores mandar ali algum *padre* a descubrir ho *que* se podia fazer." For readability, abbreviated letters are included, noted in italics. Wong presents a detailed analysis of this text in the wider perspective of Jesuit letter-writing and Vilela's mission activities, in his "Jesuits, Korean Catholics, and the State," 23-45.

3 ARSI, JapSin 7-III, fol. 81r: "meus desejos." A brief account of Vilela's itinerary in these years is provided in Pacheco, "The Founding of the Port of Nagasaki." For further discussion of Vilela's text, see Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 36-38.

4 ARSI, JapSin 7-III, fol. 80v: "tem as letras de *que* os chinos usão, com as quais fáçillmente se entendem huns a outros."

5 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, 1:505, 512: "Corea, que hé huma ilha de tartaros," "gente barbara e inhumana"; Gompertz, "Some Notes on the Earliest Western Contacts with Korea," 47; Pak Cheol朴哲 / 박철, "Seoguini bon imjinwaeran." 서구인이 본 임진왜란 [The Imjin War as seen by westerners], 79.

6 ARSI, JapSin 7-III, fol. 80v: "he jente animosa, grandes frecheiros, exercitados *muito* a pelear a cavalo *come* todas as armas, maxime *come* frechas."

message: “the Japanese, who trade with them and go there every year, say that the kingdom is very large.”⁷ Utilizing these same trading and diplomatic networks, Vilela envisaged how support could be provided to a mission from Japan.⁸ More ambitiously still, he reflected how the Joseon kingdom’s tributary status with the Ming dynasty could provide a pathway to the emperor of China. Vilela’s proposal encouraged a sense of urgency with its possibilities, although it also recognized that the mission would require specific resourcing. Thwarted by the violent conflicts then raging within Japan, he recounted, “I could not carry out my wishes because of the many wars that I saw along the way, Japanese against one another.”⁹ Tellingly, Vilela’s expression of humility at his personal failure to achieve the mission was balanced against the self-evident importance and self-confident viability of the Company’s mission. The Joseon populace, he conceptualized, was a passive cohort, a “treasure,” waiting to be won by the (Society) man “who most merits it.”¹⁰

The prize that was the conversion of the Joseon population would indeed await another man, for Vilela’s correspondent, Borja, died in 1572. However, by the 1580s a new pathway to the Joseon kingdom was beginning to emerge, opened up by the man who had established himself as the most powerful military and political leader within Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Jesuit texts wrestled with what Hideyoshi’s increasingly aggressive international ambitions meant for their authors as individuals embedded in complex and specific relations with Japan’s leading men, and for the Society in Japan. In 1586, Luís Fróis, a Portuguese Jesuit who had by then spent more than twenty years in Japan and whose many works documented not only the country’s recent past but also his perceptions of its social customs and behaviours, was responsible for a key account of an important interview that his fellow countryman, Vice Provincial Gaspar Coelho, and several other Japanese and European members held in Osaka with Hideyoshi in early May. Hideyoshi proposed that the Jesuits might provide material assistance in his planned military campaigns, which, Fróis reported, he suggested might lead to an expansion of Christianity in the region: “And then he would build churches everywhere and order everyone to conform to our law [...] Adding further, that he wished half or most of Japan to become Christian.”¹¹ Gneccchi-Soldo Organtino, a native of Astro near Brescia, and another long-term resident in Japan whose missionary work for the Society had brought him into contact with many of its great lords, was also a witness to the same audience. He raised concerns about Fróis’s bold claims that Coelho had “all of Shimo at

7 ARSI, JapSin 7–III, fol. 80v: “dizem que he jente conversavell”; “Dizem os japõens que come elles ten comersio e cada ano la vão, que he *muito grande* aquele reino.”

8 ARSI, JapSin 7–III, fol. 81r.

9 ARSI, JapSin 7–III, fols. 80v–81r: “partido não pude efectuar meus desejos por causa de *muitas* guerras que no caminho avia, japõens huns com outros.”

10 ARSI, JapSin 7–III, fol. 81r: “tisouro,” “ *quem* mais ho mereça.”

11 ARSI, JapSin 1, transcribed in Ruiz-de-Medina, *Origenes de la Iglesia Católica Coreana*, 30: “Y que entonces levantaría Iglesias en todas partes y mandaría que todos se hiciesen de esta nuestra ley. [...] Diciendo más, que todavía tenía que hacer Cristiana la mitad o la mayor parte de Japón.”

his command,” and were Hideyoshi to “require one or two [armed] ships, the said Father could provide it all, as well as provide guidance with the Portuguese.”¹² Organtino’s Neapolitan colleague Alessandro Valignano, a provocative and charismatic interlocutor who, as Visitor, held considerable influence over the direction of the mission in Japan, voiced strong opposition to Coelho’s enthusiastically militaristic vision, which included an offer to try to convince *Kirishitan* lords to participate in Hideyoshi’s military campaign. The Superior of the residence at Sakai, the Bolognese Francesco Pasio, suggested that the militaristic show of Coelho and Fróis had perhaps even increased persecutions of Christians.¹³ Whatever Hideyoshi had told the audience, by the year following the interview, he ordered the expulsion of missionaries in an edict limiting the propagation of Christianity.

When Hideyoshi sent an embassy to the *Kirishitan* lord Takayama Ukon, baptized as Dom Justo, he voiced fears that the “Christians were more united among each other than brothers by blood; and he feared that they would rise up and rebel against the lord of Japan.”¹⁴ Yet the letters of the Society’s men at least suggest there were deep divisions among the Jesuits in Japan, reflecting different cultural influences and differing experiences and education in varied missionary locales as well as status in the Society’s organizational hierarchy. The Jesuit archive records how its members were assessing each other in practice and in their correspondence, jostling for communicative priority and assessing others’ aptitude for aspects of mission work. Organtino, for example, emphasized to the General of the Order Claudio Acquaviva the challenges faced in the volatile Japanese environment by the lack of unity of purpose among the Society’s men: “Insofar as the Jesuits who congregate here [in Japan] hail from different nations, it is difficult to maintain unity amongst ourselves on account of the natural diversity of customs that mark the differences between one group and another.” The Japanese mission’s next Superior would need to be, he argued, a man “who will know how to temper [divisions] and unite all into one.”¹⁵ This task would fall to a Jesuit scholar originally from Malaga, the theologian Pedro Gómez, who took up the position of Vice Provincial in 1590. Gómez had enjoyed the dynamic intellectual environment teaching in the Jesuit Colégio das Artes in Coimbra before travelling to Japan where he had been charged with developing the curriculum of the Society’s college at Funai in 1583.¹⁶

¹² Cited in Üçerler, *The Samurai and the Cross*, 193. See earlier analysis of this meeting and its consequences in Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 139–42. On Organtino, see Cieslik, “Soldo Organtino”; Álvarez-Taladriz, “Apuntes sobre la fusta del P. Gaspar Coelho.”

¹³ Üçerler, *The Samurai and the Cross*, 195–98. López-Gay, “Father Francesco Pasio,” 29; Álvarez-Taladriz, “La persecución de 1587.”

¹⁴ Üçerler, *The Samurai and the Cross*, 198.

¹⁵ Cited in Üçerler, *The Samurai and the Cross*, 192. On the complicated leadership negotiations and arrangements of the Society in the Asian region at this period, see Wicki, “Die Ernennung der Provinziale.”

¹⁶ Üçerler, *The Samurai and the Cross*, 39–40.

By 1592, Hideyoshi, having subordinated the remaining feudal lords known as *daimyōs* and unified Japan under his control, launched the first step in his campaign to dominate the wider East Asian region, with the invasion of the Joseon kingdom. Society men had long feared that an outcome of any invasion would be the destruction of the Christian network that they had cultivated among Japan's great lords. Pasio reported in 1587 that he had been told that Hideyoshi was determined to undertake the Korean invasion at least in part to dissolve the network of *Kirishitan* lords and Jesuits whom he feared were seeking to gain control themselves over Japanese lands.¹⁷ Valignano offered his own interpretation of Hideyoshi's motivations in a letter to the General, Acquaviva: "It is clearly understood that his plan is not so much to pass into Korea and China as to expel from Japan all the lords with their people, so that dead or alive they remain in Korea, and he will remain absolute master."¹⁸

Hideyoshi's military action conflicted the Society's men on the ground. Their enthusiasm about the opportunities it offered for evangelical work in Joseon was tempered by the risks that it could pose to the—if not apolitical at least not explicitly interventionist—identity that they saw themselves as having worked hard to establish with their *Kirishitan* networks.

Korean Women's Bodies and *Kirishitan* Masculine Performance

Korean women had not yet featured as a specific cohort of interest in the Society's discussions about evangelizing the Joseon kingdom's people. However, with the advent of the first Japanese invasion, women's experiences of violence entered the Christian records, primarily as indicators of praiseworthy *Kirishitan* masculinity. Women's bodies, more than any others in Joseon, were to be enlisted in the Christian archives as the site upon which this masculinity could be performed and distinguished from that of other Japanese men. *Kirishitan* lords constituted an important contingent of those involved in Hideyoshi's invasion of the Joseon kingdom. Among the most senior Japanese military officials in the campaign, leading the First Division, for example, was the evangelized general, Konishi Yukinaga, baptized Augustin, in 1583, lord of Uto.¹⁹ It was he who led the initial invasion into southern Korea in 1592, taking Japanese troops as far as Pyeongyang, and he later participated in the second invasion in 1597. Alongside him was the Castilian Jesuit Gregorio de Céspedes who had been appointed by Gómez to undertake pastoral care of the *Kirishitan* lords and their troops. Céspedes and Gómez had long enjoyed a working relationship, for Céspedes, who could speak Japanese, had earlier been appointed to assist Gómez. In that role, however, Céspedes was the subject

¹⁷ Üçerler, *The Samurai and the Cross*, 198.

¹⁸ Nagasaki, March 13, 1592, ARSI, JapSin 11-II, fol. 288: "se entiende claramente que su determinacion no tanto es passer a Coray y a la China como echar de Japón todos los señores del consu gente, para que muertos o vivos queden en Coray, y el quedar señor absolute."

¹⁹ For a brief recent assessment of Konishi Yukinaga, see Petrucci, "In the Name of the Father."

of a complaint written to the General from the former Rector of the College of Nagasaki, Antonio López, in 1588, which suggested Céspedes had colluded with Macanese merchants to export enslaved Japanese.²⁰ López furnished further details, including that Céspedes had attempted to smuggle a Japanese woman out by hiding her in a box in order to avoid detection of the illegal activity by the city authorities. Acquaviva demanded Céspedes be punished, but what consequences he faced are obscure in the surviving archives.²¹ Despite this damage to his reputation, several years later, Céspedes, commissioned by Gómez, arrived in December 1593 in the Joseon kingdom, increasing swathes of which fell under Konishi's control as he advanced towards the capital. Here Céspedes passed more than a year.

It was not only in providing succour to *Kirishitan* troops that Jesuits were ostensibly attached to the campaign to conquer the Joseon kingdom. The Japanese “wives,” as the Jesuit records termed them, of *Kirishitan* lords engaged in the conflict were reported to have accompanied these lords abroad. This offered another potential means for Jesuit men to reach Joseon, following elite *Kirishitan* women to whom they provided spiritual care. Thus, in his memoirs, Francisco Pires recalled that “in 1597 Francisco Laguna travelled to Korea, for the wife of the lord of Arima [who was shortly to give birth]; both she and the infant died. He returned in 1598. This was a *Kirishitan* woman known as Lúzia, who was the wife of Arima Harunobu, baptized as Protásio.²² Such pastoral activities, however, suggested little wider attention to the Korean population.²³ Céspedes, for example, appeared to remain largely within the lands that Konishi controlled, and his letters focus upon his interactions with the campaign's elite men there.²⁴ In their role as spiritual care providers to *Kirishitans* on campaign, the invasions seemingly presented few opportunities for Jesuits to encounter Korean people.

20 See ARSI, JapSin 12-II, fol. 202v, translated in Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 71: “Father Pedro Gómez stayed in my place, who, being old and not knowing the language, they gave him a Castilian Father as helper, named Gregorio de Céspedes, and so they loaded the ship of China with Japanese, so that there were on it more than a thousand souls.”

21 See further discussion of this episode in Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 71–74.

22 *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*, 1:410: “Neste anno 97 foi a P^e Laguna ao Corai, porque pario a molher de Arimadono, e morreo ella e a criança. Tournou o de 98.” On the challenge for Jesuits to encourage male sexual continence among Japanese Christian men with wives and concubines, see Ward, “Jesuit Encounters with Confucianism,” 1046–48.

23 As Bang documents, there has been some debate about the nature of the services Céspedes provided to the Japanese Christian soldiers, see “An Assessment of the Role of Gregorio de Céspedes, S. J.”

24 See Cory, “Some Notes on Father Gregorio de Céspedes”; see also Kim Yang Seon 김양선, “Imjinwaeran jonggunsinbu seseupedeseuui naehan hwaldonggwa geu yeonghyang.” 임진왜란 종군신부 세스페데스의 내한활동과 그 영향 [Céspedes's visit to Korea and its influence]; Pak Cheol朴哲 / 박철, *Seseupedeseu - hangukbangmun choecho seoguin* 세스페데스 - 한국방문 최초 서구인 [Céspedes: The first westerner to visit Korea]. A review of some of Pak's arguments is provided in Bang, “An Assessment of the Role of Gregorio de Céspedes S. J.”

A small number of men connected to the Society, perhaps as few as four in total, were thus embedded among the Japanese invading forces in Joseon. Other missionary men though had taken note of the potential of the invasion. The Franciscans had for some time been active among the mendicant orders operating out of Manila in pursuing diplomatic and trade relations with Hideyoshi.²⁵ Although they had not yet received papal authority to evangelize in Japan, which was finally granted in 1608, they had nonetheless begun to establish their own relationships with Japan's *Kirishitan* elite, including with Konishi. In his first *Relación*, Martín de la Ascensión, who had previously proselytized in Mexico and Manila, lamented the lack of robust Franciscan presence then in Japan, for "if there had been ministers now they could have been sent to Korea, because Don Augustin, general of Korea, is a great Christian and would have accommodated them there."²⁶ Mirroring the view of Hideyoshi, he suggested that the invasions opened up prospects not only for Joseon but the bigger prize that lay beyond: "The door to China is also open here."²⁷

Céspedes's letters indicated little sense of the violence by which he was surrounded in Joseon. However, other Society sources as well as contemporary Joseon and Japanese sources, drew attention to the widespread violence borne by Korean people.²⁸ The highly crafted letter written by the Joseon government official Song Jemin, designed to encourage fellow countrymen to join the defence of the kingdom, left little to the imagination of the horrors of the conflict: "they abducted our wives and sisters and by tens these beasts took turns in raping them, leading to the deaths of many."²⁹ The violence suggested in Song's strategic call to arms was reflected in works that did not share his motivations, such as Fróis's detailed narrative of the Japanese invasions. This offered an equally graphic account of the actions of Japanese soldiers:

Noble and honourable women, covering up their good looks, thinking that with this they could escape the hands of the Japanese soldiers, some of them smeared their faces with the fumes of pots and pans; others disguised themselves in poor clothing [...] the

²⁵ On these relations, see Henri Bernard and S. J. Tientsin, "Les Débuts des relations diplomatiques entre le Japon et les Espagnols"; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 240–41, Reis Correia, "Alessandro Valignano's Attitude"; Arcos, "The Philippine Colonial Elite"; Tronu, "The Rivalry between the Jesuits and the Mendicant Orders"; Vu Thanh, "The Role of the Franciscans."

²⁶ Alvarez-Taladriz, ed. *Documentos franciscanos de la cristiandad de Japón (1593–1597)*, 104: "y si ahora hubiera habido ministros se podían haber enviado a Corea, porque don Augustín, general de Corea, es gran cristiano y los hubiera acomodado allá." See also Pérez, ed., "Cartas y Relaciones del Japón."

²⁷ Alvarez-Taladriz, ed. *Documentos franciscanos de la cristiandad de Japón (1593–1597)*, 104: "También por acá esta abierta la puerta a la China."

²⁸ Missionary men had also recorded views about violence towards Japanese women in the fighting within Japan that had preceded the Joseon campaigns. See the analysis in Nishimura Hiroko 西村汎子, ed. *Sensō bōroyoku to josei* 戦争・暴力と女性 [War, violence, and women], 96–115.

²⁹ Song Jemin, *Exhortation Letter Sent to the People of Cheolla Province* [August 1592] recorded in Jo Gyeongnam 趙慶男, *Nanjungjammok* 亂中雜錄 (1618), vol. 1, part 92: 然言之取人妻子姊妹十夫爭淫漲斃相總繼屠. Translation from Kim Haboush, ed. *Epistolary Korea*, 133.



Map 1.1. Key cities in the Joseon kingdom and sites of evangelizing activities involving Koreans in Japan at the turn of Europe's seventeenth century. Map created by the author from the Open Historical Map Project (openhistoricalmap.org).

pretence was immediately understood by the Japanese, and they did not hesitate to take them to make use of them.³⁰

The key purpose of Fróis's account was to highlight the contrasting conduct of *Kirishitan* soldiers, those to whom Jesuits provided spiritual care, carefully describing their conduct as Christian men, highlighting praiseworthy performances of masculinity. Of particular note for these authors was the sexual continence and conduct of *Kirishitan* men towards women in an environment in which the vulnerability of the Korean population to sexual crimes of war was extreme and well documented by contemporaries. Portuguese Jesuit Alfonso de Lucena praised the *Kirishitans* engaged in Joseon; for the "last three years that they have been in Korea they have given a very great example of chastity."³¹ Lucena numbered among those who had been selected to go to Korea, when one of the *Kirishitan* lords engaged in the campaign, Ōmura Yoshiaki, baptized as Don Sancho, fell

30 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, 5:549–50: "As mulheres nobres e honradas, por encubrirem seo bom parecer, cuidando que com isto poderião escapar das mãos dos soldados japões, humas untavão os rostos come as felugens das panelas e tachos; outras se disfarçavão em vis e baixos vestidos; [...] Porem entendido logo dos japões o fingimento, não deixavão de os tomar para se servir delles."

31 ARSI, JapSin 12-I, fol. 1r: "tres anos que estem no Coray tem dado mui grande exemplo de castidade."

ill and called for Lucena's presence. However, Ōmura recovered before Lucena set sail and the Jesuit's opportunity to reach the warzone disappeared. It was indeed Ōmura Yoshiaki upon whose sexual continence Fróis's narrative elaborated:

Don Sancho [Ōmura Yoshiaki] and the elite of Ōmura are especially noteworthy in observing of the word of God and in the example they set, especially in their attention to purity and chastity. [...] with so many and so frequent occasions as there were in this respect, with the many women of all kinds whom they captured, all were amazed to see with what strength and constancy the Christians of Ōmura were guided, many of them taking a vow of chastity while at war away from home.³²

Fróis's positioning of *Kirishitan* lords as both men of war and men of honour was telling. He had to insist that they were faced with opportunities for sexual misconduct, in order for their sexual control to be powerful, demonstrable evidence of their faith.

“Fruit Well Taken from This War”: Evangelizing Koreans in Japan

One of the apparent advantages of the war not only for its Japanese leaders but also for other traders in the region was the capture of Korean people, many of whom became enslaved. As Lucena reflected in later years from exile in Macao, the Japanese “ran all over the kingdom and stole the most precious of it, capturing countless people to bring to Japan, and most of them became Christian, this fruit, well taken from this war.”³³ In his second *Relación*, the Franciscan Martín de la Ascensión reprised his reflections on the potential of the invasions for evangelizing Koreans, and observed

in Japan a large number of Korean Christian slaves, to whom the *kampaku* [Hideyoshi, chief advisor to the Emperor] orders to give freedom and send them to their lands and [they] run the risk of turning back there being no minister in all that kingdom.³⁴

In early 1599, Valignano wrote to Acquaviva his assessment of Hideyoshi's latest instructions for the great lords to secure peace in the regions that they held or withdraw to Japan. Konishi, he argued, unlike his counterparts, had succeeded in doing so in the region he held with the other *Kirishitan* lords, and had brought back to Japan “hostages” given to

³² Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, 5:463: “Dom Sancho e os mais fidalgos de Vomura se assinalarão particularmente tambem na guarda da ley de Deos e no exemplo que derão, especialmente na guarda da limpeza e castidade. [...] com tantas e tão frequentes occasiões, como nesta parte houve come a infinidade de nulheres que cativarão de toda a sorte, ficavão admirados de ver com quanta Fortaleza e constancia se guiavão os christãos de Vomura, dos quaes muitos, por estarem mais fortes, se obrigarão com voto de castidade emquanto andassem na Guerra for a de suas cazas.”

³³ Macao, ARSI, JapSin 22, fol, 134e [sic], cited in Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 102n53: “posto que correrão todo reyno e roubarão o mais precioso delle e cativarão infinidade de gente que trouxerão a Japão e os mais delles se fizerão cristãos, que este fruto e bem se tirou desta guerra.”

³⁴ Alvarez-Taladriz, ed. *Documentos franciscanos de la cristiandad de Japón (1593–1597)*, 136: “en Japón gran número de esclavos coreas cristianos, a los cuales manda el *kampaku* darles libertad y enviarlos a sus tierras y corre riesgo de que se vuelvan atrás no habiendo en todo aquel reino ministro alguno.”

him as part of the compact, “to his great honour.”³⁵ Thus was Konishi’s role in the captivity and forced exiling of Korean people from their homeland recorded within the Jesuit archive.

Society men interacted with captive Korean peoples as subjects for evangelizing, and as the possession of *Kirishitan* lords. Slavery was already part of the social system within the Joseon kingdom and in Japan, but the invasions brought substantial numbers of Korean women and men, adults and children, into the forced circulations occurring in the wider Asian region.³⁶ The Jesuits were themselves involved in practices of unfree labour.³⁷ In the East Asian region, the Society had a role in managing aspects of the slave trade, allocating slave certificates to those they determined to be legitimate slaves.³⁸ Hideyoshi’s earlier conflicts within Japan had already produced Japanese slave populations and caused the Jesuits to reflect upon their theological position regarding slavery.³⁹ In 1593, from Ōmura, Lucena wrote of Céspedes’s return and current activities working with captured Korean on the lands of the *Kirishitan* lords, baptizing Koreans “*de servicio*,” a term that echoed the Jesuits’ favoured euphemism for enslaved individuals.⁴⁰ As M. Antoni J. Üçerler has suggested, it was possible that “many had been forcibly converted by overzealous Christian warlords.”⁴¹ In his second *Relación*, written between the two invasions, Franciscan eyewitness in Japan Ascensión was highly critical of baptisms that were taking place in large numbers, with “little sufficiency to delimit the consciences of those who come to baptism from the impediments they have, to declare the obligations that the law of God brings with it, so they baptize them without examining them,” including, he suggested, without looking into the circumstances of “unjust slaves.”⁴²

Geography played a determining role in conversions for more than those Koreans who were taken to the lands of *Kirishitan* lords. Nagasaki was a town with strong

35 Nagasaki, February 22, 1599, ARSI, JapSin 13–II, fol. 260r: “los refenes,” “*con mucha su honrra*.”

36 Peterson, “Slaves and Owners; or Servants and Masters?”; both Turnbull and Boxer emphasize the role of Wako raids in enslaving people that preceded the invasions sanctioned by Hideyoshi. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, chap. 6; Turnbull, *Pirates of the Far East*.

37 Indeed, by the time of the Society’s suppression in 1773, as Nathaniel Millett and Charles H. Parker observe, it had become the largest corporate slave holder in the Americas. Millett and Parker, “Introduction: Jesuits and Race from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Centuries,” in *Jesuits and Race*, eds. Millett and Parker, 6. See also Rothman, “The Jesuits and Slavery.”

38 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 270, 280, 285, 334, 336, 342, 358; and Brockey, “Jesuits and Unfree Labour in Early Modern East Asia,” in *Jesuits and Race*, eds. Millett and Parker, 75–96.

39 López Gay, “Un document inédito,” 137 and 143; for Japanese Christian community perspectives, see Kataoka, *A vida e a ação pastoral*, 208n204. Similar assessments and accommodation of, as well as opposition to, slavery were taking place in other cultural contexts in which Jesuit encountered enslavement during these centuries. See, for example, essays by Brockey, Andrew Redden and J. Michelle Molina in *Jesuits and Race*, eds. Millett and Parker.

40 Ōmura, 1593, ARSI, JapSin 12–I, fol. 1v: “corais de servicio.”

41 Üçerler, “The Jesuit Enterprise,” 165.

42 Alvarez-Taladriz, ed. *Documentos franciscanos de la cristiandad de Japón (1593–1597)*, 78: “tengan poca suficiencia para declindar las concinecias de los que vienen al bautismo de los impedimentos que tienen, para declararles las obligaciones que trae la ley de Dios consigo, así a bulto los bautizan sin examinarlos,” “de escalvos injustos.”

connections to the Jesuits, who had been able to expand the urban precinct with lands given to them by Ōmura Sumitada.⁴³ The strength of the Korean and Christian communities almost certainly offered newcomers with few resources much needed forms of support in the city.⁴⁴ A register of inhabitants of the Hirado-machi, one of the old town wards in Nagasaki, which was made in *Kan'ei* 19 (1642–43) listed a series of people who had been born in the Joseon kingdom. Where it was documented, the years of arrival of almost all coincided with the period of the invasions. All but one had converted to Christianity in Japan.⁴⁵ More specifically, the register suggests that a number of the Koreans had long been living in Japan before their conversion to Christianity, which occurred when they arrived in Nagasaki. For example, the ninety-five-year-old servant woman identified as Uba, had arrived in Chikugo in 1598 and then, in 1621, had come to Nagasaki where she became a Christian.⁴⁶ Nagasaki was noted as the place of conversion of most of the Koreans who were recorded or referenced in the register.

43 Pacheco, “The Founding of the Port of Nagasaki”; Schütte, Joseph. “Nagasaki no sōritsu to hatten ni okeru Iezusu no ‘konpania.’” 長崎の創立と発展におけるイエズスの「コンパニア」 [The Jesuit company in the founding and development of Nagasaki]; Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*; Tronu, “Sacred Space and Ritual.”

44 As Nakamura Tadashi notes for Christianity; see Nakamura Tadashi 中村 質, “Jinshin teiyū yamato ran no hiryonin no kiseki: Nagasaki zaijū-sha no baai.” 壬辰丁酉倭亂の被虜人の軌跡-長崎在住者の場合 [The trajectory of Korean captives in the Imjin War: Focusing on Nagasaki settlers], 180.

45 The exception was a sixty-two-year-old Korean woman, whose brief declaration indicated her arrival in Hirado as a seven-year-old, where she became a member of the Jōdo sect, before the Japanese invasions. See Yanai Kenji 箭内健次, ed., “Nagasaki Hiradomachi ninbetsuchō.” 長崎平戸町人別帳 [The Kan'ei 19 Register of Hirado-machi, Nagasaki], 124: 生國高麗之者。(天正十五年)七歳のとし平戸ニ参、浄土宗ニ罷成、寛永十三年ニ男同前ニ参、同宗同寺を頼申候。右之女房高麗之者ニ而御座候間、町中吟味仕之上造成請人立させ、請狀取組中ニ召置申候。See also Hesselink, “An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki,” 58; Nakamura Tadashi 中村 質, “Jinshin teiyū yamato ran no hiryonin no kiseki: Nagasaki zaijū-sha no baai.” 壬辰丁酉倭亂の被虜人の軌跡-長崎在住者の場合 [The trajectory of Korean captives in the Imjin War: Focusing on Nagasaki settlers], 182. On the early modern Nagasaki registers, see Nakamura Tadashi 中村 質, “Ninbetsuchō yori mita kinsei shoki no Nagasaki Hirado-machi.” 人別帳よりみた近世初期の長崎平戸町 [Nagasaki's Hirado-machi in the early modern period as seen from the registers], where Nakamura notes (p. 20) the strong presence of women, especially young women, in Nagasaki. See also Ikegami Takayoshi 池上 尊義, “Nagasaki Hiradomachi ni miru shūkyō jijō: Kanei jūkyūnen ‘Hiradomachi Ninbetsuseishoran’ o moto ni shite.” 長崎平戸町にみる宗教事情 — 寛永十九年「平戸町人別生所乱」をもとにして [Religious circumstances in Hiradomachi, Nagasaki: Based on the Hiradomachi Register of Kanei 19]; Nagamori Mitsunobu 長森美信, “Jinshin teiyū (bunroku keichō) ran ni okeru Chōsen ‘piroin’ no Nippon teijū: Chōsennin kirishitan o chūshin ni.” 壬辰・丁酉(文禄・慶長)乱における朝鮮被虜人の日本定住: 朝鮮人キリシタンを中心に [The settlement of Korean captives of the Imjin War in Japan with a focus on Christian Koreans].

46 Yanai Kenji 箭内健次, ed., “Nagasaki Hiradomachi ninbetsuchō.” 長崎平戸町人別帳 [The Kan'ei 19 Register of Hirado-machi, Nagasaki], 107: 生國高麗之もの、慶長三年ニ筑後え参。元知七年ニ長崎本興善町ニ参。則きりしたんニ罷成候へとも、竹中采女様御代ニ當町ニ而ころひ、浄土宗ニ罷成、大音寺ヲ頼申候。See also Nakamura Tadashi 中村 質, “Jinshin teiyū yamato ran no hiryonin no kiseki: Nagasaki zaijū-sha no baai.” 壬辰丁酉倭亂の被虜人の軌跡-長崎在住者の場合 [The trajectory of Korean captives in the Imjin War: Focusing on Nagasaki settlers], 184–85.

Jesuit sources continued to report the success of their mission among these new communities. Emphasizing the commitment of the Fathers to such efforts, in March 1594, Gómez reported to Acquaviva that the previous Christmas some one hundred individuals had been baptized in Nagasaki, “most of them captives from Korea” after “the Fathers went off to various houses.”⁴⁷ In 1596, Fróis could celebrate the arrival and conversion in Japan of this wave of captive Koreans as “these first fruits of that kingdom of Korea brought now by this war, for the greater good of their souls.”⁴⁸ A letter to the General of the Order from Fróis in 1596 described how a group of evangelized Koreans in Nagasaki had independently practised self-mortification to share in the Passion.⁴⁹ The Fathers, hearing a noise outside the church,

opened a window, asking who was there. They responded on their knees, with great humility: “We are only Koreans, and because we are captives, we could not participate in yesterday’s procession. Now we are all here together to ask God’s mercy and forgiveness of our sins.” They shed so much blood that those who saw and heard them were moved to tears.⁵⁰

The Spanish Jesuit Pedro Morejón was responsible for a series of hagiographic publications that documented the lives of martyrs, many of whom he had known personally, in the years after his exile from Japan. Here, he reinforced the positive view of the invasions that was widely circulating in the Jesuit archive, that one of their results was that “innumerable were those taken captive, and almost all, or most of them, became Christians.”⁵¹ Morejón’s equation of cause and effect obscured explicit consideration of the challenging contexts in which these conversions took place, given the acute vulnerability of a Korean population wrenched from its usual support networks.

Despite the celebration of successful evangelizing among the captured Koreans in Japan, the ambiguous practices of the Society with regard to slavery were under

47 March 15, 1594; transcribed in Ruiz-de-Medina, *Origenes de la Iglesia Católica Coreana*, 52n148: “a mor parte erão dos cativos do Corai,” “se repartirão os padres por diversas casas.”

48 December 3, 1596, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “primicias de aquel reino de Coray con la captividad desta guerra para major bien desus almas.”

49 In using the term “evangelized Koreans” in this work, I encompass a range of common terminologies found in the contemporary sources, such as baptized, convert, or Christian, with recognition that the precise contours of what they implied to individual Korean people and to the Catholic authors who wrote about them may have varied.

50 December 3, 1596, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “abriendo una ventana y preguntando quiceram responderam detrodillas con grande humildad somos Corays solamente y porque somos cautivos y no tenemos a pairesse para ayer yr enlaprocession agora uenimos aqui todos Juntos apedir a dios misericordia y perdon de nostros peccados losquales derramavan tanta sangre que mouieron a lagrimosa los que los oyeron y vieron.” As Sousa observes, flagellation was a sign of fervour common to the Passion practice of Japanese Christians. Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 118.

51 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462r: “fueron innumerables los que truxeron captiuos y quasi todos, o la mayor parte se hizeron christianos.” On Morejón, see Alonso Romo, “Pedro Morejón” and, relatedly, Kawamura, “El viaje de Pedro Morejón a Japón.”

increasing pressure.⁵² In 1598, the newly arrived Bishop of Japan, Luís Cerqueira, drew up a clear statement of the Society's position of excommunication, reiterating that issued under his predecessor Pedro Martins, which had encompassed both women and men, Korean and Japanese. Cerqueira's document elaborated that "Koreans, of whom a large number have been going in the ship to China for six years now, since the Japanese began their conquest, are not legitimately captives, for the war that the Lord of Japan is waging is unjust."⁵³ This work, copies of which were sent to the King of Portugal, the Viceroy of India and the Archbishop of Goa, was signed by fourteen Jesuits in Japan. The Jesuit archive recorded accounts of this period produced by captured Koreans themselves of their hardships. Thus, a Korean man known as Jinkurō Pedro narrated how he had been taken as a thirteen-year-old, "serving pagans for seventeen years and suffering many toils" before he came to Kuchinotsu where he was baptized a Christian.⁵⁴ Yet, despite knowledge of the realities of slavery, the Society continued to rely upon an enslaved labour force for its operations in Japan.⁵⁵

Jesuit accounts made oblique reference to the contexts in which Korean women sought out Christian teachings, their texts embedding evidence of some of the particular challenges women faced in the choices that they appeared to make in approaching Christian sources of support. In the Jesuit archives, an anonymous marginal comment, accompanying a letter by an evangelized Korean woman who was known in mission records as Julia, described how

This Julia was born on the island of Korea, and from there she was taken to Japan; to defend her modesty from her *tono* [master, or lord] she fled to a Christian *tono*, and there she was baptized by Father Morejón.⁵⁶

This text reiterated the distinct sexual continence of the Japanese lords as an important part of their performance of *Kirishitan* masculinity, as had earlier been suggested of their activities as invaders in the Joseon kingdom. It also suggested the vulnerability of captive Korean women and a potential reason for their willingness to approach celibate Society men. Oblique references to women's experiences pepper the mission archive.

52 There is considerable debate about the number of Koreans who were taken from Joseon, see Sousa for a recent analysis, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 934.

53 Nagasaki, September 4, 1598, BRAH, MS Jesuitas, 9/2666, fol. 273r-v: "moços ou moças," "coreas, dos quais uai na nao da China grande numero de seis años a esta parte, que e o tempo que ha que os Jappões começarão aquella conquista não são legitimamente catiuos pois a guerra que o Señor de Jappão lhe faz he injusta." On the ambiguous usage of the term *moço*, see Brockey, "Jesuits and Unfree Labour in Early Modern East Asia," 77–78.

54 Carlo Spinola to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, March 18, 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 78v: "E levado pera Japão, servio entre gentios desasete annos padecendo muitos trabalhos."

55 Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 226; Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 358–59.

56 December 1613, Munich, Archiv der Zentraleuropäischen Provinz der Jesuiten (APECESJ), Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r: "Nata est haec Julia in Insula Corai, captiva in Japonia delata, ad tuenda pudicitia a dono suo per fugit ad tonos Christianus, ibiq. baptizata est a P. Morejon."

The annual letter of 1594, for example, highlighted the power of prayer in describing the case of a *Kirishitan* man whose prayers for the recovery of an enslaved Korean girl who had run away from his home were rewarded: “Since she was a foreigner there was no news of her. However, because he had heard that Christians entrust themselves to St Anthony, he asked the saint to return his girl, and a few days later she appeared.”⁵⁷ The account, however, did not appear to consider why the girl had “fled” in the first place. It moreover hinted at the lack of other supports available to these women in a country with which they were not familiar. Similarly, in 1615, the Society’s Procurator in Japan, Genoese Jesuit Carlo Spinola, wrote to the General of the Order about the dedication of Miguel to his faith, offering as evidence that,

coming to Nagasaki, he was baptized, and had such a good understanding of Christian teachings that being commissioned to return to his country to work in the war, he did not escape, and, returning to Japan, he served for several years in order to rescue his captive sister.⁵⁸

Although it was not the focus of his account, Spinola’s presentation suggested competing obligations on this Korean convert and recognized the importance of releasing his sister from servitude in Miguel’s decision-making and actions.

Nonetheless, implicit concerns about the fraught context in which Koreans encountered Christianity may have shaped Jesuit authors’ common emphasis upon the voluntary nature of Korean engagement with the Christian faith, and their narration of biographies of key role-model individuals that downplayed violent circumstances as shaping their choice to convert. The Portuguese Jesuit Mateo de Couros, for example, reported the testimony of the Korean woman baptized Julia who celebrated that although “she had been born into paganism in Korea, he [God] had taken her from there, and through Tçunocami dono Augustin [Konishi] she had come to Japan, where he had revealed himself and his most holy law to her.”⁵⁹ In his account of the encounter of one evangelized Korean, a former monk Gayo, with the Society written around 1628, Morejón reported that Gayo himself had perceived

57 ARSI, JapSin 12-II, fol. 340r: “*Hum Christão che fugio huma coraijin hauia muito que não lhe aparecia e porque ella estrangeira so não fazer conto della todavia porque tinha ouuido que os christãos se encomend a Santo Antonio pedio muito as sancto que lhe de paresa a sua moça e dali a poucos dias lhe apareces.*”

58 Nagasaki, March 18, 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 76r: “*vindo a Nagasaqi se bautizou fazendo tam bom entendimento das cousas dos Christãos, que sendo alugado pera ir outravez a sua terra a trabalhar na guerra, não fugio podendo, e tornado a Japão servio alguns annos pera resgatar sua irmã cautiva.*”

59 Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244r: “*com ser naçida no meyo da infidelidade da Coreia, de la a tirara, e por meyo de Tçunocamidono Agostino uiera ter a Japam onde lhe dera notícia de sy, e de sua santissima ley.*”

that God had brought him from Korea to make him a Christian [...] Blessed man! The Lord took him, at the time of *Taicosama's* [Hideyoshi's] war, from his land so closed to all foreigners, to receive the Holy Gospel and brought him to Japan so that he might receive with many others the faith.⁶⁰

Similarly, Morejón's account of the conversion of a young adolescent, written much later in Macao in 1627, identified Kaun (later to be known by his baptismal name Vicente) as the son of a nobleman from the Korean court. In this account, the invasions did not directly put Kaun in danger, for the king "retreated from the court into the mountains, and Vicente's father and his whole family, were with him; and the Japanese took possession of the palace and the city."⁶¹ Morejón emphasized the boy's independence of action, at least from human influence, in approaching Konishi:

although he was free and safe, seeing the Japanese army from afar, he felt in himself a great impulse from God, who had predestined him for such glory, that he went off with them. And his guardian angel led him to the lands of don Augustin, general of the army, and a relative of his took the boy, who was like an angel.⁶²

Morejón's detailed accounts of the experiences of these converts were evidence that showcased the fruit of his pastoral work in Japan and linguistic proficiency in Japanese. He knew many of these individuals about whom he wrote personally, including Kaun, whom he had encountered when Kaun was taken to Japan and offered to the church on the island of Shiki, where Morejón baptized him in 1592. A letter written later by Kaun, now known to Jesuits as Vicente, provided a slightly different narrative of his first encounter with Augustin and Christianity, as

a native of Korea, born in the metropolis of that kingdom. At the age of thirteen, I came to Japan with an assistant of Tçunocami Agostinho, called Konishi Heiemon. That same year, on the island of Shiki, he made me a Christian, and entering the Church I served in many places.⁶³

60 Morejón, *Relacion de los martyres*, fol. 43v: "diziendo que Dios le truxo de la Coria para hazerle Christiano [...] Dichoso varon! Aquien sacò el Señor, en el tiempo de la guerra de Taico-sama, de su tierra tan cerrada para todos los estranferos, y por consiguiente para recibir el sancto Euanglio, y le truxo à Iapon para que con otros muchos recibiese la Fee."

61 Macao, May 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462v: "retirose de la Corte a las montañas y fue con el e el padre de Vicente con toda su familia y los Japones se apoderaron del Palacio y Corte."

62 BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462v: "y aun que estaua libre en saluo viendo de lexos el exercito de los Japones sintio en si grandes impulsos de Dios que le tenía para tanta gloria suya predestinado, que se fue con ellos y lleuole su Angel custode al Real de Don Augustin General del exercito, y un pariente suyo tomó al niño que era como un Angel."

63 Recorded in João Rodrigues Giram's account to the General, Muzio Vitelleschi, Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 107r: "Sou natural da Coreia, nascido na metropoli daquelle Reino. De 13 annos vim a japão com hum criado de Tçunocami Agostinho chamado Conixi Feiyemon. No mesmo anno na Ilha do Xiqi me fez *christão*, e entrando na Igrja servi em muitas partes."

Vicente's more passive account of his introduction to Christianity may have been a strategic response to interrogation by Japanese authorities, although in the same text Vicente did not shy away from his later activities and commitment to the Christian faith.

Jesuit opportunities for contact with the Korean people in Japan came almost exclusively through events mired in violence, but we cannot rule out that for some individuals, perhaps especially women, Christian evangelization also offered protection from violence. These were encounters made through long-held practices of enslavement of Korean peoples operating in the region, through the invasions of the Joseon kingdom, and by the forced removal to Japan of captive Korean people. If there were reasons why some Korean people, who were isolated from the local population and their own networks in Japan, might have been attracted to the network of practical and emotional support that the Christian missions may have offered, missionary authors did not foreground them, although they were embedded in their descriptions of evangelized experiences. Instead, as noted above, Fróis wrote to Acquaviva in 1596 celebrating the opportunity that presented this population to Christian influence. He looked forward to the role of Korean people in furthering the mission through East Asia, assuring his reader that "the common talk" was that if "the law of the Gospel is preached in Korea (which does not seem difficult by the way of Japan), they will receive the faith readily and it will spread greatly in those kingdoms."⁶⁴

Gender and Mission Strategy

The different experiences and activities of Korean women and men, as well as people of different status, shaped how they could encounter Christian teachings. Fróis's account of the Church in Nagasaki in 1593 documented that women's access to hearing the mass was limited, because the local authorities "still do not allow them to come to the church." Thus, at Christmas the missionaries had "divided into different houses where the women gathered" to provide services, at which time they "also baptized one hundred gentiles who were already catechized, of whom the majority were Korean captives, because a large number of them came to Japan; and by which all those women were very consoled."⁶⁵

Jesuit authors recounted how, during the invasion, Korean men had been integrated (willingly or otherwise) into the military personnel of *Kirishitan* lords, as

⁶⁴ December 3, 1596, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: "la comun platica," "la predicacão de la ley Euangelica en Coray (loqueparece no sera dificultoso por via de Japõ) que recibira la fee com facilidad y se poder mucho dilatar em aquellos Reinos."

⁶⁵ Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, 5: 457: "poes ainda não lhes permitem os ministros de Terazava que possuão vir à igreja, se repartirão os Padres por diversas cazas onde as mulheres se ajuntavão; [...] e bautizarão-se tambem 100 gentios que estavam já cathequizados, dos quaes a mayor parte erão dos cativos de Corai, dos quaes vierão grande soma a Japão: com que ficurão todas aquellas mulheres muy consoladas."

had the evangelized Korean man baptized as Miguel. Jesuit accounts also documented the displacement and circulation of Korean children within the *Kirishitan* network. In his account of the war, Fróis recorded that Itō Sukekatsu, baptized Dom Jerónimo, “brought with him many Koreans whom he had captured in war, men and women,” giving the men to the Jesuits “to do as they wished, and the women given to his wife.”⁶⁶ Fróis insisted that the latter were not to be held

as captives but to have them in her home, until they knew how to communicate and talk, and could have means of living in Japan and then she would give them freedom; but not let them go too soon, because as foreign people who could not speak, they would be soon lost and [held] captive.⁶⁷

The use of passive constructions in relation to the description of these individuals’ gender-segregated fate highlighted Fróis’s intention to foreground the actions of elite *Kirishitans*. This act of paternalism separated women and men into distinct environments that created different kinds of exposure to Christian teachings.

The Jesuits could have generated new mission strategies to cope with the arrival of a very large mass of people of varied social status, which included educated courtiers and skilled workers, agricultural labourers and household attendants, who were now operating between what remained of their homeland networks and the necessary forging of new ones among the Korean community and with the Japanese. However, consistent with their mission approaches elsewhere in the region, the Society’s men retained the methods that had formed the foundations of their endeavours in Japan, exploiting the high literacy among higher status Korean men.⁶⁸ Both Gayo and Vicente were men of status and learning, able to engage with the Jesuits through the shared tradition of Chinese scripts that both Korean and Japanese communication systems employed. Of Vicente, Morejón described how he “learned the language of Japan, which is totally different, though the letters are the same as in China.”⁶⁹ This immediately and implicitly focused attention within the Korean mission strategy on adolescent and adult male converts who could readily integrate into the Society’s existing institutional structures in Japan, of seminaries and residencies, and into an institutional, racialized hierarchy of Asian men under the direction of European fathers.

66 March 15, 1594, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 39v, translated in Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 99: “porque traxia tambem consigo diversos corais que cativava na guerra honems e molheres,” “deles fazer o que lhes parecesse e que os molheres se entrasse a sua molher.”

67 ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 39v, translated in Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 99: “não pera as fer por cativas mas pera as fer en sua caza sustendan doas alhe que ellas soubeçem negoçarce e falar e pudesem fer algum remedio en Jappao e então lhe dece liberdade e não as largage logo porque como gente estrangeira e que não ser bião falar serião logo perdidas e cativas.”

68 See, for example, by comparison, Standaert, “Jesuits in China,” 172.

69 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462v: “aprendio la lengua de Japon que es totalmente diuersa, aunque las letras son las mismas de la China.”

How other cohorts of Koreans, by contrast, could access the Christian message in Japan was more complicated, requiring intermediaries. In 1594, Francesco Pasio reported to Acquaviva a plan devised by the Vice-Provincial that

they look for some skilled Koreans who know how to read and write their own handwriting, which is the same as the Chinese use, and also in Japan; who, after learning the Japanese language, were very well instructed in the catechism, making a good summary of it in their language, and they are also translating the prayers into the language of Korea so as to more easily catechise their fellow countryfolk.⁷⁰

Lucena praised the decision of Gómez to send to Ōmura as an assistant “a Korean *dōjuku*” to work with Koreans there.⁷¹ By late 1595, a letter from Fróis to the General observed the very large number of captured Koreans in Arima, Ōmura and Nagasaki. He too spoke of Gómez’s plans for a seminary to prepare Korean men as *dōjukus*.⁷² Jesuit biographies of Korean men who converted as adolescents emphasized the role of such training as an important pathway for evangelizing the captive Korean community in Japan. Morejón recognized the value to the mission of men such as Vicente who had “turned out a good teacher of catechism [...] and in this way he greatly helped fellow natives, who later said that their becoming Christians and persevering in the faith was thanks to Vicente.”⁷³ In 1596, Fróis rejoiced in his letter to Acquaviva that “many captives from Korea, men as well as women and children,” had been baptized in the past two years at Nagasaki.⁷⁴ He noted positively that most were accessing the Christian message through Japanese: “most of them pick up the language of Japan so easily that almost none need to confess through an interpreter.”⁷⁵

However, Korean households also appeared to act as important sites of evangelization, as Fróis’s letter describing the conversions of Christmas 1593 suggested. From Portugal,

70 ARSI, JapSin 45, fol. 196r: “que se buscasen algunos corais habiles y que supiesen leer y escriuir su propia letra que es la misma que los chinos vsan, y tambien corre en Japon: los quales despues de aprender la lengua japonica fueron instruidoes muy bien en el cathecismo haciendo un buen Sumario del en su lengua, y letra trasladando tambien las orations en la lengua de corai para desta manera poder mas facilmente cathequizar sus naturales.” Also found October 20, 1594, ARSI, JapSin 31, fol. 157v, as noted in Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 117n110.

71 Ōmura, 1593, ARSI, JapSin 12–I, fol. 1v: “hum dojucu coraj.” The word *dōshuku* 同宿, meaning “fellow resident,” was adopted from Buddhist practice for use by the Christian orders as “dogico” or “dojucu.” In the Christian context discussed in this work, it is spelled as *dōjuku*. See Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 88–89, Cieslik, “Laienarbeit in der alten Japan-Mission.” 186–89; Brockey, “Jesuits and Unfree Labour in Early Modern East Asia,” 83.

72 Nagasaki, October 20, 1595, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 94v.

73 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462v: “salio buen predicador del Cathecismo,” “y assi ayudo grandemente a sus naturales, que despues dezian que ser *crístianos* y perseuerar en la fee era beneficio de Vicente.”

74 December 3, 1596, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “muchos cautivos de Coray assi hombres como mugeres y ninos.”

75 ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “la mayor parte dellos toma la lengua de Japão con tanta facilidad que quasi ninguns tiene necesidad de fe confessar per interprete.”

the Jesuit historian Fernão Guerreiro made available to the wide readership of his work the global Jesuit activities based on the letters of missionaries in the field. Foregrounding the work of Paulo over that of his wife Ana, he nonetheless recorded the key role of one Korean Christian couple who lived in the Gotō islands. Paulo, he wrote,

had such good understanding, with his wife, of the things of God, that it is astonishing to see the fervour and zeal and devotion that both have; and it is so much that all other men who know him, given his reputation, will visit him: if they are Christians, they become devout with his advice, and if pagans, they are ordinarily baptized, he being the godfather of the men, and his wife, Ana, of the women.⁷⁶

Later, Guerreiro recounted the experiences of another Korean women, Ursula, whom he noted “became a Christian, by persuasion, of this Paulo.”⁷⁷ Other accounts by Jesuit authors suggested that Korean women’s language skills enabled them to mediate across cultures in their proselytizing. João Rodrigues Giram, whose series of annual letters from Japan in Europe’s early seventeenth century offered Guerreiro and his readers many valuable insights into the conversion of Koreans, described to Acquaviva a growing group of converts supported by a Korean woman married to a Japanese man in Bitchu. She was “a Korean by birth, who had a marvellous grasp of the things of God because she knew very well the language of Japan, and with her a daughter of hers and six or seven other maids were baptized.”⁷⁸

Even if, in reaching out to Korean populations in Japan, Jesuit men primarily looked to Korean men and adolescents as conduits and mediators who could be easily trained and accommodated within their existing structures, or in ways that conformed to their existing assumptions about patriarchal family and household dynamics, they did not ignore the potential of Korean women as converts. Jesuit sources speak to the relationships of Society men with very different cohorts of Korean women—powerful and influential women, as well as lower-status women. The writings of Jesuit men suggest that these distinct cohorts offered different possibilities for mission strategy, and opportunities for access to wider audiences for their messages than those created by evangelized Korean men.

76 Guerreiro, *Relação anual*, 3:156–57: “Entre muitos Coreas christãos, que por aquelas ilhas lá cativos dos japões, está um, chamado Paulo, com sua mulher por nome Ana, cativo do Tono e seu hortelão. Êste, pôsto-que há pouco, que se fêz cristão, fêz todavia tão bom entendimento, come sua mulher, das coisas de Deus, que é espanto, ver o fervor e zêlo e devoção que ambos têm; e tanto é isto, que todos os demais homens que o conhecem, out endo fama dêle o vão visitor: se são cristãos, se fazem devotos come seus conselhos; e se gentios, de ordinário se baptizam, sendo êle padrinho dos homens, e a mulher, Ana, das mulheres.”

77 Guerreiro, *Relação anual*, 3:157: “Uma mulher, de casta Coreia, que servia ao Tono, se fêz cristã, por persuasão dêste Paulo, Coreia, acima dito.”

78 Nagasaki, March 14, 1609, ARSI, JapSin 56, fols. 55v–56r: “sua molher que com ser Coreia de naçam pormou marauilhoso concerto das cousas de Deus por saber muito *bem* alingoa de Japam, e com elle se bautizarão huma filha sua e outras seis ou sete criadas.” Giram’s name is sometimes written in modern scholarship as Girão.

The Jesuit archive celebrated the presence of Korean women who rose to positions of power in Japan. One was Pak Marina who converted in 1606 “as the faith and the love of Jesus Christ had taken deep root in her soul,” wrote the Italian Jesuit Francisco Colín. He encountered Marina in Manila where she had later been exiled and was then living as a nun.⁷⁹ Marina appeared to have accrued considerable wealth since her arrival in Japan, enough that when she determined to “consecrate herself to the divine Majesty with the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience,” she “handed over her estate to be used for the support of the community.”⁸⁰ Colín’s account did not document Marina’s life in Joseon or how she had achieved such wealth, events long before the period when he was writing his account. Indeed, that Marina was Korean did not appear particularly relevant to Colín’s objectives. He was writing a history showcasing the Society’s activities in the Philippines, a religious and political project that responded to a request from Philip IV of Spain, and in which Marina featured because of her presence among the community of exiles from Japan who were supported in Manila.⁸¹ What was important for this aspect of Colín’s biography of Marina was her personal repudiation of her fortune, and the benefits that this had accrued for the community of religious women in Miyako (present-day Kyoto) whom she had joined. This group of women were led by a Japanese woman, baptized Julia, a member of the well-known *Kirishitan* family, Naitō (a member of whom had served alongside Konishi in the Joseon invasion). This group of women enjoyed a close relationship with the Jesuits then in Japan.⁸² Marina served as an exemplar of the power of Christianity, perhaps via the work of the Jesuits, to inspire not only lower-status Korean women and men to Christian conversion, but also influential women who appeared, on the surface at least, to have had the means to prosper in Japan.

Similarly, Jesuit texts foregrounded the potential of a series of Korean women converts who were present within elite courtly environment. One was Máxima who had become embedded at the heart of power at the court of Arima. Her situation was described by the Portuguese Jesuit Sebastián Vieira in a letter to the General in March 1614.⁸³ In the early years of Europe’s seventeenth century, however, another Korean woman known as Julia, seemed to provoke particular interest for the Society’s men, as attested by the large array of letters and texts reporting upon her activities. As

79 Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:503: “auiendo echado profundas raizes en su alma la Fé, y amor de Iesu Christo.” On Marina, see Ruiz-de-Medina, “The First Korean Catholic Nun in History”; Wong, “Marina Pak (c. 1572–1636).”

80 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:503–4: “se consagró a la Diuina Magestad con los tres votos do pobreza, castidad, y obediencia [...] y entregó su hazienda para que se gastasse en el sustento de la Comunidad.”

81 On Colín, see Arcilla, “Jesuit Historians of the Philippines,” 381–83, and also Roldán-Figueroa, *The Martyrs of Japan*.

82 For an analysis of the *Kirishitan* Naitō Julia’s activities, see Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, chap. 3.

83 Nagasaki, March 16, 1614, ARSL, JapSin 57, fols. 268v–269r.

had so many others, Julia arrived in Japan as a result of the invasion of her homeland, where she had converted and been baptized by Pedro Morejón. Later, she had been taken into service in the residence of Tokugawa Ieyasu, where missionaries hoped she might influence Japan's most powerful political figure, although he was not, as the Jesuits' terminology often suggested, Japan's monarch. Thus, in 1609, Giram claimed to the General of the Order: "Julia is now higher than before and serves His Highness directly."⁸⁴ A transcribed letter purportedly composed by Julia to Morejón in 1613 was accompanied by textual annotations in the hand of Morejón and of an unknown colleague, which identified particular qualities that implied what was seen as of interest to their readers. Prefacing his transcription and translation, Morejón explained that it was a "letter from Julia, from the palace of the emperor."⁸⁵ This drew out a key feature of her biography that was seen to be significant: that she had been in proximity to the height of power—that of the "emperor." Ieyasu was of course not the emperor, but these authors regularly used this term to refer to Ieyasu whom they perceived, rightly, as the most powerful figure in Japan. The letter text was subsequently annotated in another anonymous hand, adding: "She later went to the emperor's palace serving his wife."⁸⁶ Jesuit writers also reported descriptions of Julia's identity claimed to be made by Ieyasu himself, who had observed

the many favours and benefits she had received from him [...] a poor foreigner, taken captive in the Korean war, risen so high as to be a lady of the palace of the lord [Ieyasu]. And more than others, one of those he trusted the most, always taking her with him wherever he went.⁸⁷

Despite her lowly origins, authors repeatedly described not only that Julia had become a lady-in-waiting in Ieyasu's residence but also foregrounded the emotional proximity that she had established there, where she might serve as a conduit to Ieyasu's wife, the female household, and even to Ieyasu himself. It would perhaps be a Korean woman who could bring the Society's men and message closest to the most powerful man in Japan. Moreover, Morejón's archive of documentation directly from Julia and its inclusion in the Jesuit archive also helped to highlight his own proximity to this potentially influential woman, to whom he might serve as a key spiritual advisor.

84 Nagasaki, March 14, 1609, ARSI, JapSin 56, fol. 13v: "Julia esta agora melhor que primeiro e serue immediatamente a S. A."

85 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r: "ex aula imperatoris japonis." See also Ruiz-de-Medina, "History and Fiction of Ota Julia."

86 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r: "deinde ad aula imperatoris uxori eij seruiens."

87 Mateo de Couros to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244r: "*que* deuera de selembrar das muitas e avatajadas merces *que* delle tinha reçibio [...] huma pobre estrangeira catiua na guerra de Corea, veo amontar tanto, *que* chegou a ser Donzela do paço do *senhor* da Tenca de Japam. E nam qual quer, senam das principais de quem mais fiaua, leuandoa sempre consigo onde quer *que* fosse."

While in Ieyasu's household, Jesuits considered how Julia might play an active and important spiritual role among the court ladies. Giram reported that she had a hidden oratory where she encouraged other ladies to uphold their faith.⁸⁸

There, she counsels her fellow Christian to keep and persevere in the faith, for which she has already suffered some troubles, with great courage and constancy, and she does not let the opportunity to conciliate pagans pass and if she cannot persuade them to become Christians, she strives that at least they do not feel or speak ill of our holy law.⁸⁹

Four years later, he still held broadly similar views about Julia's value as a conduit to further female converts in Ieyasu's entourage:

to see how well these ladies of the palace are doing, and with what edification to the pagans and principal ladies of the *Kubō* [Ieyasu], among whom they live and whom they serve, I baptized a lady of the palace whom they had converted.⁹⁰

In a later account of 1613, Mateo de Couros also praised Julia's leading role among the ladies in Ieyasu's household: "The names of the chief among them were Julia, Lucia, and Clara and there were others of lesser rank."⁹¹ Julia, he noted, was "zealous at bringing other nobles to hear the preaching of the catechism."⁹²

Individual women as well as men could be perceived by Jesuit writers to hold valuable potential for their mission strategy: men such as Vicente, the courtly, educated adolescent, Gayo, the former monk, and Julia, a potential communicator of Christian beliefs and practices to Ieyasu himself. The qualities that made Korean men particularly worthy of note in the Jesuit archive were found in forms of cultural capital that they carried from the Joseon kingdom and which could translate into power and access for themselves and for the Society, in Japan. By contrast, women such as Máxima and Julia accrued status through their experiences as captured Koreans and its consequences as they found themselves residents of elite households in Japan. The story of women's lives in Joseon and the skills and knowledge that they had developed there, did not appear to form part of Jesuit narratives of their conversion or to be of their particular interest for the Society.

88 March 10, 1605, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v.

89 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: "ali aque a conselha as companheiras Christãos que tenham não e perseuere na fé, polla qual tambem padeceo ja alguns trabalhos com grande animo e constancia, e não deixa passar occasião de abrandar as gentias, e ja *que* não pode persuader lhes que se faça christãos procura pello menos *que* não sintam nem fallem mal de nossa santa ley."

90 Nagasaki, March 14, 1609, ARSI, JapSin 56, fol. 13v: "pera dargracas a N. *Senhor* verquam bem procedem a quellas molheres do paço, e com quanta edificaçam daquellas gentias e molheres principaes de Cubo entra quem estam et aquem seruem: bautizei huma molher do paço que esas tinham conuertido."

91 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 243v: "As principais se chamavam Iulia, Luzia, e Clara, *com* outras de menos calidade."

92 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 243v: "zelosa de trazer outras pessoas nobres a ouvir as pregações do cathecismo."

Conclusions

Gender shaped the perception of what was at stake in a Joseon mission. Until the 1580s, the Korean people who awaited the Christian message were understood in the Jesuit archive through their menfolk, a society inhabited by literate and skilled warriors, perhaps not unlike that with which the Jesuits were familiar in Japan. A spirit of personal competition, among the Society's men and with other orders, infused discussions in the Jesuit archive about how to access the spiritual treasure that was the Joseon population. Joseon was cast as a prize for the taking by the man who "merited" it, oriented as an individual achievement accrued for the right Society man. Vilela, who had been tasked with the mission, reconciled his lack of success as a sign of God's alternative purpose for him. The increasing evidence of hostile intent among Japan's leaders towards Joseon exposed further these fault lines of individuality that governed aims, ambitions and activities among the Society's men, and the alternative political interpretations of different Jesuit correspondents, which were circulated through the letters of individuals not only back to Rome but also to other Society members in the region.

In the end, it would be violence and the vulnerability that it produced in an invaded Joseon and among Korean people held captive in Japan that formed not only the backdrop to Jesuit mission encounters with Korean women and men but the very circumstances in which it was carried out. How this could be reconciled with the Society's apparent success in evangelizing Koreans shaped the manner in which this mission work was presented and celebrated. The Jesuit archive embedded insights into some of the precarious situations in which Korean women (and men) found themselves as they encountered Christian teachings. The invasions allowed the Society's men to foreground a vision of *Kirishitan* masculine conduct that emphasized sexual continence, and which could play a part in explaining the influx of captive Korean people to Christianity, particularly Korean women whose sexual vulnerability Jesuit writers could acknowledge in the context of providing them protection. Indeed, this would become an important dimension of the way evangelized Korean women's experiences were recorded in the Jesuit archive.

Finally, the institutional structures and mission strategies already embedded in the Japanese mission were activated to extend evangelizing to captive Korean communities. This assumed an engagement predominantly by Korean men with the Society's structures and personnel and as mediators within the Korean community. Jesuit writers recognized the value of cultural capital accrued in Joseon for men in developing the mission but did not document equivalent skills or knowledge among Korean women. While women, of any social level, did not appear to be discussed as a targeted cohort for mission activities, this did not mean that evangelized Korean women could not be valuable assets in the eyes of Society's men. Problematically but never quite problematized, it was through Korean women's experiences as captives that they were perceived to open opportunities for the Christian message to reach exclusive communities, including that of the most influential man in Japan himself, Tokugawa Ieyasu.

Chapter 2

COMMUNITY

IN THE LAST years of Europe's sixteenth century, evangelized Koreans began to form a specific cohort in Japan. The distinctive features of this group were of interest to Christian writers, both from the Society of Jesus and from the mendicant orders that began a more fully fledged mission campaign in Japan after 1600. The mission strategies of these orders varied considerably, including in terms of whom they targeted, leading to some distinctions in their reports about Koreans; but, on the whole, whether from their vantage points in Japan or as observers and collectors of circulating information from nodes in Macao and Manila, the Christian archive broadly discerned and made differences in the spiritual experiences of Korean women and men. These works underlined particular understandings of evangelized Korean masculinities and femininities, which shaped the way writers assumed and described participation and contributions of Korean women and men to Christian practice, and how they could further mission activities. The Christian archive revealed some of the potential meanings of Korean identity and of Korean networks in Japan as well as community members' complicated notions of, and desire for, belonging that they negotiated with the Christian orders. Moreover, it revealed the perceived importance and power of the gendered body, as the site of affective expression, for interpreting Korean spiritual experience.

Becoming Christian: Gender, the Body, and Affectivity

In implicit contrast to the warrior barbarianism that characterized the way Koreans (more specifically, Korean men) had been described before the Japanese invasions, subsequently, Catholic authors repeatedly emphasized contrasting characteristics of the Korean people whom they encountered outside the kingdom. In 1627, the Spanish Jesuit Pedro Morejón praised Koreans as "gentle, docile, and naturally beautiful."¹ As they came increasingly into contact with captive Koreans, Jesuit writers revised and refined their impressions of the characteristics of people from the Joseon kingdom and the distinctive forms of masculinities and femininities that they perceived to be performed by them. These displays of gender-distinct behaviours were often related to faith-oriented affective expressions.² Such gendered expressions that Society men saw in Korean women and men formed part of their narratives of how Koreans were engaged by Christian teachings and practised their faith. They also shaped the archive of knowledge circulating among Jesuits about how the Joseon kingdom might one day be approached with a dedicated mission.

1 Macao, May 31, 1627, BRAH MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462r: "blandos, dociles y de lindos naturales."

2 For recent analysis of emotions in Jesuit practice, see Haskell and Garrod, eds, *Changing Hearts*.

Reports about evangelized Koreans emphasized their fervour and devotion to their new faith. As early as 1594, when the first invasion had already removed many women and men from the Joseon kingdom to Japan, Francesco Pasio, Superior of the Jesuit residence at Sakai, was able to report his impressions of these people “of great natural intelligence and capacity for our holy faith,” as well as those of the attending Japanese brothers who were “amazed to see what good understanding they have,” “saying that Koreans are in no way inferior to the Japanese when it comes to receiving our holy faith.”³ Such reports were perhaps unsurprising since Jesuit authors were enthusiastic about these opportunities for evangelization, but they had a particular resonance in a context in which violence profoundly shaped the encounter of Koreans with Christianity in Japan. Luís Fróis, ever optimistic, wrote encouragingly to the General of the Order, Claudio Acquaviva, of his initial impressions of Koreans: “people of good understanding and sincerity, and they give signs of being in no way inferior to the Japanese.”⁴ Indeed, he continued with his conviction from “clear experience that they are people very well disposed to receive our holy faith. They are very affectionate, are baptized with joy and no less consolation to see themselves Christians.”⁵ In his history of the mission work in the region, especially in the Philippines where most of his own activities were concentrated, the Dominican friar Diego Aduarte opined that the Joseon character “shares with Japan some of the courage without the ferocity, with which they remain in a more praiseworthy middle ground, much more accommodated to receive and await our Holy Law.”⁶ How Aduarte formed his opinion is less clear. He may have met captive Koreans in the Philippines, but it is also possible that his information came from one of the foremost biographers of Christians in Japan, the Jesuit and fellow Spaniard Pedro Morejón, who also spent time in Manila.

Notably, Christian authors emphasized qualities such as sincerity among Koreans’ praiseworthy characteristics. Koreans were, Aduarte thought, “people of a very good nature, very plain, without duplicity or deceit.”⁷ Such claims for their character as

3 1594, ARSI, JapSin 45, fol. 196r: “grande numero de corayes losquales fueron captivados de los Japones es esta guerra que con ellos tienan, y por que son naturalmente de buen ingenio, y capacidade para las cosas de *nuestra santa fee*,” “admirados de uere quan buen entendimiento tienen,” “diciendo que en nada son inferiores los corays a los japones quanto es para recibir *nuestra santa fee*.”

4 December 3, 1596, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “tiene esta gente buen entendimiento a con paria do con simplicidad y dan tales muestra deses que nada parecenser inferiores a los Japones.”

5 ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “esperiencia clara que es gente muy dispuesta por recibir *nossa Santa fee*. Son muy amorosos, bautizarze con alegria y no menos consolacão de uerse Cristianos.”

6 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:470–71: “del Iapon participan algo del valor sin la ferocidad, con que quedan en vna mediania mas loable, y mucho mas acomodada para recibir, y aguardar *nuestra Ley Santa*.” An analysis of the Dominicans in Japan is provided by Boxer, “The Dominican Mission in Japan.”

7 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:470: “cuya gento es de muy buen natural, muy llana, sin doblez ni engaños.”

well as the visible display of pious qualities were important for missionizing men interacting with a group with whom they had only partial linguistic access, via Chinese scripts and those Koreans who had learned some Japanese. Fróis perhaps hoped to head off such concerns by insisting that “most of them pick up the language of Japan so easily that almost none need to confess through an interpreter.”⁸ The Jesuits also sought to demonstrate the full commitment and understanding of Joseon people to Christianity by reading their bodies.⁹ Actions would form a significant mechanism through which Koreans’ spiritual lives and commitment could be demonstrated, in the eyes of Jesuit writers. Some authors emphasized Koreans’ embrace of Christian practices and rituals. Fernão Guerreiro, for example, related the last words of a dying Korean woman in his expansive five-volume account of global Jesuit missions, whom he described as “very weak in her body but strong in spirit.” Guerreiro’s narrative cited the woman’s words, which highlighted her faith in terms of her knowledge of Christian devotional practice to the attending priest seeking to confess her: “I, Father, am called Ursula, and since I am a Christian of just a few years, and of this age which you see, I was over fifty years, yet I know the prayers, and by the grace of God I was baptized [...] every day I pray the rosary many times.”¹⁰ João Rodrigues Giram’s account of Vicente, on the other hand, emphasized that he was “much given to penance and mortification, seeking these out in many ways.”¹¹ Bernardino de Ávila Girón was a Spanish merchant who was eye-witness to missionary endeavours during the more than twenty years he spent in Japan. His *Relación del reyno del Nippon al que llaman corruptamente Jappon*, providing important documentation about missionaries’ activities, became part of the Jesuit and other Christian archives.¹² He described how a Korean man known as Hachikan Joaquin “lived with such devotion and good conduct that he seemed more like a Christian of long standing than one baptized four days ago. He came to church often, heard mass with great devotion, gave his alms, and visited the Fathers.”¹³ The annual letter of 1610 composed by Giram offered compelling evidence of just such devotion, recording that in Nagasaki

8 December 3, 1596, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “la mayor parte dellos toma la lengua de Japão con tanta facilidad que quasi ninguns tiene necessidad de fe confessar per interprete.”

9 Also noted by Wong, “Jesuits, Korean Catholics, and the State,” 59.

10 Guerreiro, *Relação anual*, 3:157: “muito fraca no corpo, mas forte no espírito [...] ‘Eu, padre, me chamo Úrsula; e, pôsto-que sou cristã de poucos anos e desta idade, que vedes, que passava já de cinqüenta anos, sei todavia as orações, e pela graça de Deus estou como me baptizei; [...] cada dia rezo muitas vezes o rosário.’”

11 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 122v: “muito dado apenitencia e mortificação procurando por muitos modos.”

12 On Girón, see the recent analysis by Martín Santo, “‘Cosas de tierras extrañas.’”

13 Nagasaki, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 198v: “procedia en su vida con tanta deuocion, y edificacion que mas parecia un antiquissimo *christano* que hombre baptizado de quatro dias acudia a la Iglesia muy a menudo oya sus missas con *grande* deuocion daua sus limosnas visitava los padres.”

there are many Christians Korean by birth in this city, who, with fervour and devotion, decided to have their own particular church and in it their confraternity. [...] Its dedication was celebrated with solemnity, by themselves and the Japanese, coming all day to visit this chapel, greatly edified by the piety and devotion of the Korean Christians and their concord and unity for salvation, not held back by their great poverty, but purely for the service of God our Lord and his saint [Lawrence, to whom the church was dedicated], and for the spiritual good of their souls, plan such a holy work and so much beyond their resources.¹⁴

In these sources, the physical reality of the Saint Lawrence church in Nagasaki seemed to provide a sign of evangelized Koreans' meaningful engagement with Christianity. It may also have hinted at a need within that cohort for their own dedicated Christian space and community that was not sufficiently catered to within those existing ones that had established for Japanese or European groups and activities. Several years later, in 1617, the Italian Jesuit Francesco Eugenio addressed the General, observing that even the Japanese "confess that the Koreans surpass them in devotion." This was not only the view of the Japanese. Writing from Nagasaki, he made his own comparisons between cultural communities, "here, where we have many Christians, both Chinese and Korean, the Koreans in devotion and ability, are as much superior as gold is to silver."¹⁵

The Jesuit archive associated becoming Christian with control of the body and heterosexual expression for evangelized Korean of both sexes. This took the form of renunciation of marital sexual activity in the biographies of evangelized Korean men, and accounts of women frequently emphasized their chaste or virginal status. Procurator Carlo Spinola noted that Miguel, who married in Japan, slept separately from his wife, at his request.¹⁶ Marina's biographer, Francisco Colín, reported that at her death in 1636, Marina died as she had lived, a "blessed Virgin."¹⁷ For Julia, the protection of her chastity was a reason, Morejón recorded, why she had fled to a *Kirishitan* household, and it remained a feature of her Christian practice worthy of particular note in the many accounts of her activities.

14 ARSI, JapSin 57, fols. 5v–6r: "ha nesta Cidade muitos christãos Coreas de naçam, os quaes entrado em feruor e deuaçam determinarão de ter sua propria e particular Igreja e nella sua confraria. [...] Celebrouse sua dedicacão com solennidade e concurso assi delles como dos Japoens, *que* por todo aquelle dia concorreram em grande numero a uisitar adita capella edificadas grandemente dapiiedade e deuação dos christãos Coreas, e de sua unison e concordia pera as cousas da saluacão, os quaes sem respertar a sua muita pobreza mais que puramente ao serviço, *que* nesto Japiam a Deos.N. *Senhor* e a seu santo, e tambem as proueito espirital de suas almas intentuam tam santa obra e tanto sobre suas forças." Schütte, Joseph. "Nagasaki no sōritsu to hatten ni okeru Iezusu no 'konpania.'" 長崎の創立と発展におけるイエズスの「コンパニア」 [The Jesuit company in the founding and development of Nagasaki], 31.

15 Nagasaki, December 12, 1617, ARSI, JapSin 17, fol. 112r: "confessano, che li Coraijini gli leuano uantaggio nella divotione," "visso che qui, dove ci sono molto Chini, e Coraijini *Christian*: li coraijini nella divotione, e capacità gli tengono tanto uantaggio, quanto sormonta l'oro all'argento."

16 Nagasaki, March 18, 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 76r–v.

17 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:503: "dichosa Virgen"

Korean converts also used their bodies to signal their faith in other ways reported by Jesuit authors. At the court of the local lord in Arima, reported Sebastián Vieira in 1614, Máxima “dressed in poor clothes, living in poverty, and busy in the exercise of virtue, as example and edification.”¹⁸ Some evangelized Koreans had accumulated considerable worldly goods, as had Marina, who combined her vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, with the donation of what was described by Colín as her “estate,” to be used by the community of religious women she had joined.¹⁹ Julia, a person of interest to more than the Jesuits, was also described as keen to divest herself of worldly goods. A letter of the Franciscan Alonso Muñoz to the Father Provincial of the Franciscans of the Province of San Gregorio in the Philippines recorded that in 1606, upon hearing rumours of new violence towards Christians in Edo (today’s Tokyo), Julia “frequented the church, went to Confession and Communion with fervour, made a will and disposed of many things, distributing money and rice and other things to the poor. She said the first who ought to confess was her.”²⁰ Unsurprisingly, abnegation of worldly resources for a life of poverty was a key demonstration of Christian faith open to converts of both sexes. In practice, many evangelized Koreans must have had little material wealth to repudiate, another reason why their bodily labour and sexual behaviours were significant indicators for Christian authors of their fervour.

Affect too was a key tool for Jesuit interpretation of Korean Christian experience. Christian writers’ reports about the character of evangelized Koreans distinguished specific qualities that they perceived to be displayed by male and female members of the Christian community. A distinctive form of Korean masculinity emerged from Jesuit authors’ pens, one that was characterized by modesty, docility, humility, and even by beauty. Morejón depicted Vicente as “a virtuous young man of good grace and qualities,” “like an angel.”²¹ In later life, he infantilized Vicente as “always a virtuous, humble and hard-working youth,” despite the fact that Vicente spent over thirty years as an adult working for the Society and died in his forties.²² João Rodrigues Giram’s account of Vicente emphasized that he was “very humble and devout, and above all patient.”²³ Of the convert and captive, Miguel, Spinola emphasized that “he behaved

18 Nagasaki, March 16, 1614, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 269r: “vestidose de vestidos pobres vive pobre, e ocupada em exercicios de virtude *como muito* exemplo, e edificação.”

19 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:504: “su hazienda”

20 Osaka, February 1607, BL, MS Harley 3570, fol. 390v: “frequentando la yglesia ay los Sacramentos con mucho Spiritu, y mulgo e hizo Testamento y dispuso de muchas cosas repartiendo plata y Arroz y otras coasa con los Christianos pobres. Diziendo Laprimera que se avia de publicar era ella.”

21 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fols. 463r, 462v: “era mancebo virtuoso y de buena gracia y partes,” “era como un Angel.”

22 BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 463r: “fue siempre mancebo virtuoso humilde y trabajador.”

23 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 122v: “era muito humilde e deuoto, e sobre modo paciente.”

with such modesty.”²⁴ Giram’s description of a Korean man known as Cosme, who had arrived in Japan as an eleven-year-old, praised his docility: “he never grumbled.”²⁵ These characteristics were not exclusively performed by evangelized Koreans but appeared to be racialized perceptions about the role that Jesuits believed that East Asian men could perform in Christian life. Hankan, baptized Léon, the Japanese companion of Céspedes during his time in Joseon, was similarly described as “always an example, humble and very poor.”²⁶ These characteristics, frequently associated with evangelized Korean men, were strikingly different to the descriptions of Korean warrior masculinity (or society, as it was claimed) that had previously been presented in the Jesuit archive.

Not only were Korean men described in terms of their virtues of modesty and humility, but their practice of faith was described as expressive, visible, and interpretable to their European eyewitnesses. Another convert, Manoel from Suruga, the son of Korean-born parents, was a young man living with auditory and verbal impairment. His religiosity could, however, be read by the Jesuits through non-verbal signs, including his acts of charity and his affective displays. João Rodrigues Giram described in 1617 to the General, Muzio Vitelleschi, how Manoel had received his baptism “with signs of joy and devotion.”²⁷ Precisely what these signs were on this occasion was not clear, but Manoel’s tears were to provide the Jesuits useful cues. As Christopher Wong has argued, “while they could not read the interior reaches of Manuel’s consciousness, the Jesuits saw Manuel’s tears as signs of that interior life.”²⁸ Giram, for example, wrote of how Manoel “spends a good deal of time in mental prayer, and especially when he is before the sacred images of the Ecce Homo or the Crucifixion he is often seen bathed in tears.”²⁹ What these tears actually indicated about Manoel’s understanding of Christianity, however, was not explicit. A compassionate engagement with his faith community was more obviously claimed, though, in Giram’s description of Manoel’s response to seeing fellow Christians who had been the subject of state violence, when he shed “many tears of compassion.”³⁰ Jesuit writers may have been at pains to dispel earlier, more negative, impressions about the hostility of Korean people, in order to emphasize the strong likelihood of success of a dedicated Korean mission. Yet they did not directly acknowledge the subordinated status of converts many of whom were captives in the land in which Jesuits now encountered

24 Nagasaki, March 18, 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 76r: “sempre procedeo com tanto resguardo em sua vida, que era tido de todos por christão exemplar.”

25 Japan, January 10, 1620, Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 402v: “Suas práticas todas erão do ceo, e ja dantes fugia grandemente de murmurar.”

26 ARSI, JapsSin 46, fol. 327r-v: “sempre muito exemplar, humilde, e muito pobre.”

27 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 401v: “com mostras de alegria e deuaçam.”

28 See the analysis within a theological and missionary perspective in Wong, “Jesuits, Korean Catholics, and the State,” 51–70, this case discussed on 62–63.

29 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 403r: “Contam tambem deste Manoel que gasta bons pedaços de tempo em oraçam mental, e que especialmente, quando se poem diante das sagradas imagens do Eccehomo, ou Crucifixo, o vem muitas vezes banharse em lagrimas.”

30 ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 402v: “muitas lagrimas de compaixam.”

them, as a factor shaping how they presented to Christian missionaries. The features of evangelized Korean masculinity that were foregrounded by Jesuit writers likely reflected the largely subordinated circumstances faced by men who were operating in a foreign land and society, rather than in their Joseon homeland.

It was unclear how much Christian authors perceived the affective qualities of Korean Christian masculinity as pre-existing their conversion (thus supporting an argument that Korean men were especially well disposed to Christianity), or as shaped by contact with Christianity. For Korean women, however, the transformative possibilities appeared more obvious to writers. Jesuit authors described how it could be Christianity itself that could temper the rather fiery character of Korean women once they were adherents, much as it had the disposition and behaviour of *Kirishitan* Japanese lords during the invasions of Joseon. João Rodrigues Giram recounted in 1607 how a previously “very hot-tempered and ill natured” captured Korean woman became after her baptism, “a meek lamb.” Giram reported that she was

so patient and devout that besides fasting in Lent and on the other fast days of the Church and undertaking many other devotions, she made it her duty to go each morning to the church to say her prayers [...] saying that she might be a poor slave, but she meant to show her good will as well as she could, and win some merit. Finally, since becoming a Christian she was so transformed that she never answered back again nor said anything disagreeable, that she was an example to everyone to admire the effect that the grace of holy baptism had had on her.³¹

While the affective performances of Christianity perceived to be displayed by both Korean men and women matched long-standing tropes, the transformative effect of Christianity in producing these behaviours appeared somewhat different between men and women.

On the other hand, sometimes the perceived fieriness of Korean women appeared to be less transformed than re-directed towards benefits for the Christian community. While evangelized Korean men were characterized by Jesuit writers in terms of their humility, the same authors were struck by the intense, even violent, expressions of zeal of Korean women. In 1614, Sebastián Vieira described to the General the dramatic behaviour of the convert Máxima residing the local lord’s household in Arima. Confronted by a Buddhist monk attempting to distribute “Buddhist rosaries,” “Máxima, full of zeal, took them and threw them in the face of the monk.”³² Previously, Giram had celebrated the

31 Nagasaki, February 25, 1608, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 405v: “era tam agastade & de maa condição,” “huma mansa cordeira,” “tam paciente & deuota, *que* alem de leiumar a Quaresma & outros jeiuns da Igreja & fazer outras muitas devaçoes [...] *que* ja *que* era pobre & catiua pello menos como *que* podia queria mostrar sua boa Vontade & ganhar algum merecimento: finalmente ficou tam mudada depois de christãa *que* nunca mais se lhe ouuio hua roim reposta nemhuma pallaura desentoadada tanto *que* a todos le hum exemplo admirandose grandemente do effeito *que* nella fez agrança do santo Baptismo.”

32 Nagasaki, March 16, 1614, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 268v: “a quem deu o zelo tomando as atirou e deu com ellas no rosto do bonzo.” Pedro Morejón reproduces this story as the actions of women and children without mentioning individuals in his *Relacion de la persecucion*, 27.

determination of Julia to practise her faith in Ieyasu's household, by hiding an oratory there.³³ He had described how

this virtuous woman spends a large part of the night in her spiritual books and praying, which she cannot do by day because of the duties of her service in the palace, as well as because she is in the midst of gentiles averse to our holy Law as are the *Kubō* and his women.³⁴

When Julia left the residence and came for confession and communion, Giram wrote, it was "with such devotion and feeling that she comforts all who see her."³⁵ Four years later, he continued to report her fervour in new terms. Although based in Ieyasu's household, Julia, preferring "freedom to devote herself to her salvation more than all the world's favours, wishes for an illness in order to get out of there and go to live among Christians."³⁶ It conveyed a dramatic expression of faith and of desire to belong in a community of shared values.

Christian authors also reported how the intensity of Korean women's faith expressions drove them to be seen and heard in the streets of their communities. Several Jesuit authors, for example, described Korean women's mobility in seeking out Christian teachings. Mateo de Couros recounted the activities of one young woman, "a servant in the house of a pagan" who resisted her master's attempt to have her apostatize. To do so, she sought out a wider Christian community to support her: "On Sundays she went secretly to the house of a certain Christian woman, where she commended herself to Our Lord, and engaged in matters of God."³⁷ Giram described how Julia too sought a like-minded community, "often leaving the palace, with permission, to visit acquaintances, which she does, otherwise not being able to come to confession and communion."³⁸ Writing from Manila, Francisco Colín recorded how when Pak Marina was being paraded through Miyako (today's Kyoto) as a punishment by Japanese state officials for refusing to abjure her faith, "she proclaimed through the streets, in her half Japanese (which, being Korean, she did not speak well), that she remained firm and constant in

33 March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v.

34 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: "Gasta esta virtuosa molher grande parte da noite em ser liuros espirituaes e rozar suas deuações o que dedia não pode fazer assi polla obrigação do seruico do paço como tambem por estar em meo de gentios tam auersos anossa santa ley como he o Cubō e suas molheres."

35 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: "com tanto sentimento e deuaçam que consola muyto aquem a ve."

36 Nagasaki, March 14, 1609, ARSI, JapSin 56, fol. 13v: "e como deseja mais aliberdado pera se dar mais de proposito as cousas da saluçam que ordas as priuanças do mundo deseja que lhe venha huma doença perase sair dali, e ir viuer enere christãos."

37 Nagasaki, October 6, 1603, ARSI, JapSin 54, fol. 210v: "Viva a li huma moça, Corea de nação, aqual esteua dous annos seruindo em casa de hum gentio," "Aos Domingos secretamente se hia a casa do certa christãa, aonde se encommendaua a N. *Senhor*, e trataua dos cousas de deus."

38 March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: "muytas vezes sanido com licença do paço com achage deir a visitor suas conhecidas, como a faz por doutra maneira não poder, seddem a confessar e commugar."

the faith of Jesus Christ, for whom she was prepared to die.”³⁹ Korean women, in these accounts, demonstrated commitment to their faith by visible presence in their local district.

Similarly, Christian authors recorded the mobility of evangelized Korean women in the practice of their faith. In a letter he compiled from Mexico in 1614, the Spanish envoy Sebastián Vizcaíno described a meeting with Julia whom he encountered in 1611 in Suruga, in an inn, “where we found a servant, or rather one of the ladies of the palace of the said emperor, named Julia, a Christian, on her way to visit the ambassador and to hear mass.”⁴⁰ Vizcaíno reported how he “gave her some trinkets and other things, she was more interested in pictures, rosaries and pious objects, for they say she is a good Christian.”⁴¹ Although positive, Vizcaíno’s portrait did not provide further details of Julia’s religiosity as were seen in the accounts of contemporary religious authors, perhaps shaped by his encounter with her outside of a spiritual setting. Julia continued her work in the communities and streets of Japan’s cities, where she was later investigated for teaching Christian doctrine to children in Nagasaki.⁴² The Dominican author José de San Jacinto noted nonetheless that “Julia, a Korean, very devout to the Rosary and promoter of the Holy Confraternity, always persevered in this, for which she has been thrown out of her house and on to the streets a few times, and now she has none but goes from one house to another at the mercy of God.”⁴³ In subsequent years, Christian sources suggest that Julia was supported by donations in a Christian network that extended beyond the Jesuits and even beyond Japan. The Dominican Father Francisco Morales was in Japan as part of the first missionary endeavours conducted by the Dominican order. He recorded in a letter that he had given Julia alms that had been donated by the Spanish admiral of the Philippines, Juan Ruiz de Icoaga:

The 400 reales which you kindly sent the first time to doña Julia, and the 200 you sent the second time, I know for certain that she received them. But as the Christians are experiencing such a hard time, I have not had any letter from her that she received them, but I had it from the lady through whom you asked me to send the said alms.⁴⁴

39 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:504: “Y quando las boluieron a entrar en la Ciudad de Meaco metidas en ellos, con su media lengua lapona (que por ser Corea, no la hablaua bien) pregonaua por las calles, que boluia firme, y constante en la Fé de Iesu Christo, por quien deseaua morir.”

40 Mexico, 1614, BNE, MS 3046, fol. 96v: “do hallamos una criada a por mexor dizir de las damas de palacio del dito emperor *que* se llama Julia cristiana, auissitar a lembaxador y oir missa.”

41 BNE, MS 3046, fol. 96v: “algunos juguetes de bidrios y otras cosas quella mas atendia a ymagens rrossarios y cossas de deuocion por que dizen que es buena *chrisitana*.”

42 See Ruiz-de-Medina for a construction of her biography, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia.”

43 [Nagasaki] March 25, 1620, San Jacinto, “Relación breve,” 26–27: “La una, llamada Julia, de nación corea, muy devota del Rosario y gran favorecedora de la santa Confradía; siempre perseveraba en esto, por lo cual, la han ecgado algunas veces de su casa y calle, y agora no la tiene, suno que anda de una casa en otra a la Misericordia de Dios.”

44 [Suzuta] February 28, 1620, cited in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 279.

By 1622, Julia was living in Osaka where the Provincial Francisco Pacheco wrote of his attempts to assist her: “The Korean Ota Julia, banished for the faith, is now in Osaka. I have helped her, and am helping her, as I can.”⁴⁵ Julia had become herself the subject of charity, supported by a broad network of women and men, of many nationalities and professional engagements, who conveyed alms and information about her between them.

Christian authors also identified potentially problematic aspects of evangelized Korean women’s experiences in Japan. In particular, they were concerned about women’s ability to control their bodies from sexual slander and accusations of misconduct. The assertion of female agency described in these contexts demanded dual attention to protection of women’s chastity and their Christian faith. As noted in [Chapter 1](#), Julia’s control of her body was a key element of her conversion narrative. The anonymous annotator of her letter wrote that her conversion had occurred after being “taken to Japan; to defend her modesty from her *tono* she fled to a Christian *tono*.”⁴⁶ Giram even marvelled at Julia’s chastity while residing in Ieyasu’s household, in ways that highlighted conventional assumptions about women’s sexual behaviours:

Of all her virtues what is most surprising is that being a young girl and in the flower of her youth and above all, very good looking, in the midst of so many opportunities, she remains like a rose among thorns, determined to lose her life rather than her soul.⁴⁷

Additionally, accounts of Julia noted attempts to impugn her sexual morality. Within Ieyasu’s household, wrote Mateo de Couros, those who could not convince Julia to recant then suggested that “she had often sneaked out of the palace, which was a clear sign of her disorderly life.”⁴⁸ An investigation was ordered, but Couros assured his readers that Julia’s reputation was cleared and her sexual honour remained intact: “she had gone out to confess, receive communion and hear mass in our church.”⁴⁹ While serving in Ieyasu’s household, Christian authors continued to emphasize Julia’s need to protect her chastity from pagan powers. The Franciscan Muñoz highlighted Julia’s fear that

she might be the Emperor’s [sic] concubine, as are the other ladies whom he keeps at court, calling them to him as and when he pleases, [Julia] said, if the Emperor called her to his apartments, as he usually calls the other ladies, that she would excuse herself,

45 February 15, 1622, ARSI, JapSin 38, fol. 87v: “A córaijin Vota Julia desterrada por fide esta agera em ozaca, eu a ajudei, e ajudo com oque posso.”

46 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r: “captiva in Japonia delata, ad tuenda pudictia a dono suo perfugit ad tono *Christianus*.”

47 Nagasaki, March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: “mas o que de suas virtudes espanta mais he que sendo anida moça e na flor da idade e sobre tudo de muito boas partes naturaes no meo de tantas occasioens, se conserua como rosa entre as espinhas determinada e apostada aperder antes a vida *que* não char sua alma.”

48 Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244v: “dizendo *que* muitas vezes tinha saido fora do paço ás escondidas, o *que* era manifesto sinal de andar desconcertada na vida.”

49 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244v: “e nam acharam mais *que* saira a se confessar, *commungar*, e ouuir missa em nossa Igreja.”

which she could very easily do. And if this was not enough, she would rather let them cut her into a thousand pieces than consent to it.⁵⁰

This account, which foregrounded Julia's assertion of agency, even to the point of bodily defilement, reinforced the evangelized Korean's exceptionality against other women's apparently more typical acquiescence to sexual importuning.

Articulating Christian Belonging

The general emphasis in these Christian accounts was on bodily expressions and practices of faith, with very few detailed records of how Korean Christians understood or articulated tenets of their belief. State-sanctioned torture and execution became occasions when the thoughts and commitment of mainly Korean men to their faith were recorded, for only a handful of Korean women were subject to comparable forms of violence, as will be explored in the following chapter. In this context, descriptions of evangelized Koreans' dreams and visions that were recorded by Christian authors provide significant insights, albeit mediated, into Korean understandings of Christian belonging.

Both Giram and Morejón relayed accounts about the series of dreams and visions that Gayo had experienced. He had been a Buddhist monk in Japan before his conversion to Christianity. His dreams appeared to support a narrative about his pre-destination for Christian adherence that would eventually entail his death. Giram's account, for example, suggested how animals could sense Gayo's particular and inherent spiritual purity. He recounted how, while Gayo was living as a hermit in a cave in Joseon before the invasion, "one day a tiger (or wolf) came to the cave where he was, and lying down beside him for some time, got up and went without doing him harm." Giram reasoned, "God our Lord was keeping the crown [of martyrdom] for him."⁵¹ Later, Morejón wrote, "he told us in Osaka that while a pagan in his land he had had insights and inspirations that he could not help but understand as there being a Lord of the whole world who was greater than his idols."⁵² Among these was "a dream in which a venerable old man told him that this year he would cross the seas with great trouble and

50 Osaka, February 1607, BL, MS Harley 3570, fol. 390v: "el temor de qué seria manjaba del Emperador como lo son las Damas de quien se aprouechaua enbiando las allamar como y quandole da gusto dixo que si el Emperador lallomase su aposento como suele llamar alas otras damas que es escusaria loqual podia hazer muy façilmente quando esto nobastase dejaria hazer mill pedaços antes que consentir en ello."

51 Macao, March 15, 1626, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 16r: "vir huma uez hum Tigre, ou Lobo a dita Coua a on desstaua, e deitando se junto delle por algum espaço, se Leuantou, e fui sem lhe fazer mal," "Como Deos Nossor a guardaua pera a Coroa"

52 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462r: "el qual nos dezia en ozaca que tuuo en su gentilidad y tierra algunos luezes u inspiraciones de que no podia a dexar de auer un señor vniversal del Mundo mayor que sus Idolos."

effort, and achieve the fulfilment of his desires.”⁵³ The identity of Gayo’s prophetic dream interlocutor appeared to be revealed when Gayo later received baptism in Japan. As Giram recounted, “one of our Brothers giving him a [holy] image, he said he knew it. And asking why he said that, he replied that this image was the one who had appeared to him in the mountains and wilderness of Korea and had told him he would cross the sea with great trials and at last achieve his desires.”⁵⁴ However, the identity of the interlocutors in the Korean convert’s dream visions were not determined only by Gayo himself. Giram’s record of these experiences was strongly inflected by the commentary of others that offered alternative interpretations of Gayo’s own perceptions. For example, regarding one experience which occurred while Gayo was dangerously ill, Giram wrote, “he saw in a dream, as he related it, a boy of extraordinary beauty; or as others relate, one of our Fathers, who told him that he would soon accomplish his desires. After this dream, he soon began to feel well.” Giram concluded that the dream “acted like medicine.”⁵⁵ Gayo’s dreams appeared to be employed in these accounts to serve a strong narrative purpose that included, among other aspects, the importance of the Jesuits themselves as spiritual conduits.

By contrast, an account recorded by Giram of another intense corporeal and affective vision experienced by an evangelized Korean, suggested far more interpretive control by its narrator, Clara, a woman living in Arima. The story of Clara’s vision would be conveyed to multiple readers beyond the intended recipients of Giram’s account through its inclusion in Fernão Guerreiro’s five-volume account of the Jesuit missions and in an Italian translation of Giram’s letter.⁵⁶ Mistaken for dead, having first been pricked by needles, Clara was being shrouded when she stunned those preparing her body by reviving and sharing a vision. She recounted the following: “First, that she had been taken to Hell, and had seen many souls suffering miserably” and many pots and boilers “in which the many souls were roasting and frying, and in front of these pots passed a river of very cold water, taking the said souls from the pots or hot boilers, putting them in and taking them out again, back into the same boilers, moving them from the one

53 ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 16r–v: “vio huma uez em sonhos ahum velho venerauel, o qual lhe dissa *que* a quelle anno passaria omar *com* muito risco e trabalho, e alcansaria o comprimento de seus dezejos.”

54 ARSI, JapSin 61, fols. 16v–17r: “dando lhe hum fimaõ nosso huma imagem disse que a conhecia, e perguntanda lhe, perque dizia a quello, Responde, que a quella ymagem, erado velho que nas montanhas, e hermo de Corea lhe a pareçera, e dissera, auia de passar mares com trabalho, e finalmente ter o comprimento de seus dezejos.”

55 ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 16v: “vio em sonhos, segundo elle contaua a *hum* menino de extraordinaria belleza e fermosura; ou como outros contaõ, ahum P^e Nosso, oqual lhe disse, *que* logo lhe comprinha seus dezejos. Passado este sonho, come coulogo a acharse bem, seruindo lhe ao que parece de meizinha.”

56 Guerreiro, *Relação anual*, 3:165–66 and in Giram, *Lettera di Giappone dell’anno M. DC. VI*, 38–40. The latter does not mention that Clara is Korean.

extreme of heat to another of intolerable coldness.”⁵⁷ There, Clara met a woman she had known, who informed her that she was being punished for dying without confession, after aborting a child. The soul addressed Clara by name (in fact the first time in Giram’s account that Clara was identified by her name) about which “Clara was astonished, to see herself called by her name, and also that the soul was speaking to her and telling her the cause of her torments, what had actually happened in this women’s life.”⁵⁸ The woman’s soul “told her further that she knew and had seen in that place many other people, both men and women, who were in torments for their particular sins.”⁵⁹ Clara added “that when she remembered what she had seen there, her flesh trembled and her hair stood on end.”⁶⁰ Clara then passed from this place to another, “very dark, where no one could be seen, but many could be heard, crying and screaming, as if to say, ‘Pray for us,’ which place, she said, must be Purgatory.”⁶¹

Then Clara found herself in another place that was “very spacious, pleasant and beautiful, all carpeted and covered with rich tapestry.”⁶² Here, “coming closer, she saw a very beautiful gate enamelled all over with gold and silver, and steps also of gold and silver leading up to the top.”⁶³ The steps here were lit by “many lamps, and on both sides there were many children, very beautiful, beautiful in the extreme, all with books open in their hands, praying for them.”⁶⁴ Among these children was a boy Clara recognized,

57 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Primeiramente, *que* fora leuada ao Inferno e nelle vira penar muitas almas miseravelmente,” “nas quaes se estauam assando e frigindo muitas almas, e por diante destas panellas passaua *hum* rio de agoa muito fria, no qual tirando as ditas almas das panellas ou caldeiras ardentes [...] passandoas de *hum* extremo dequentura a outro de intoleravel frialdade.”

58 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Ali dizia ella, *que* se encontrou com *huma* molher *que* conhecera neste mundo, e *que* esta alma lhe fallara e dissera Clara (*que* assi se chamaua esta molher Corea) Aqui estou nestes tormentos por ter abortado *hum* filho e morrer sem confissão, Como *que* a Clara ficara atonita por se ver nomear por seu nome e tambem por lhe fallar aquella alma, e diser a causa de seus tormentos; o que na Verdade assi passara em Vida daquella molher.”

59 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Contou mais *que* conhecera e Vira naquelle lugar muitas outras pessoas assi homens como molheres, *que* estauam nos tormentos por seus peccados particulares *que* ella contaaua.”

60 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “acrecentando *que* quando se a lembrava do*que* ali Vira lhe tremiam as carnes e se lhe arripiavam os cabellos.”

61 ARSI, JapSin 55, fols. 320v–321r: “muito escuro aonde não aparecia ninguem, masque ouuia estarem nelle muitos chorando e gritando, e como quem dizia rogai por nos; oqual lugar, dizia ella que seria o Purgatorio.”

62 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “Indo mais adiante deste lugar contaaua *que* fora ter a outro mui largo, ameno, e fermoso todo alcatifado e cuberto de ricatapeçaria.”

63 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “chegando se mais perto vio, estar *hum* portal fermosissimo esmaltado todo de ouro e prata, do pe doqual comecauas huns degraos tambem de ouro e prata, *que* heam subindo para cima.”

64 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “os quaes degraos estauam cheos de candeas, e de *huma* e outra parte muitos mininos mui fermosos por estremo todos com seus liuros nas mãos abertos, rezando por elles.”

“who had died at the age of five, it being three years since he had died.”⁶⁵ This boy “had spoken to her and taken her up the steps.” As she was guided up the steps, “three robed priests appeared to her, and asked her, ‘Who is this?’”⁶⁶ “To which the boy replied who the woman was. The priests said, ‘No dirty and filthy people can enter this place.’”⁶⁷ It was then that Clara felt upon her face one of the needles with which her attendants were verifying her death, and she recovered sufficiently to recount her experiences. She insisted, the attending priest heard her say more than once, that this was no dream “but a vision that she had had, after which she said she felt her heart completely changed.”⁶⁸ Recovering quickly, Clara “now goes about more devoutly than before,” Giram reported.⁶⁹

Significantly, while Christian male authors tended to emphasize women’s bodies as a site for demonstration of Christian feeling and practice, Clara’s vision occurred beyond her corporeal form. It took place as, and because, she entered a state in which her senses were cut off from the earthly world. In her illness, she was “completely out of herself, with all senses lost.”⁷⁰ The text noted explicitly how she did not respond to haptic cues of pricking needles over various parts of her body; “no matter how many tests they did on her, she did not feel anything.”⁷¹ It is in this liminal state in which she was disengaged from the corporeal world that Clara was able to apply her senses to a different kind of perception, spiritual perception. It was through her senses and feelings that Clara made sense of the vision experience. Significantly, in this non-corporeal but nonetheless sensory and emotionally perceptive experience, Clara did not appear to display any obvious markers of gender identity.

Clara saw these souls as firmly corporal entities, to which various punishments were rendered. However, she witnessed the haptic nature of the torture as an empathetic connection; the miserable suffering of the souls made her experience “utmost pain and compassion.” As Clara entered Purgatory, by contrast, she engaged different senses and practices.⁷² Vision was replaced as a mode of perception by hearing. It was an

65 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “Vira *hum* minino, *que* ella conhecera o qual morres de idade de cinco annos e avia tres *que* era morto.”

66 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “e *que* este minino lhe fallara e metera para dentro dos de graos pellos quaes subindo lhe apareceram tres sacerdotes reuestidos, e lhe perguntaram quem era.”

67 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “aoque respondendo o menino quem era adita molher disseram os Sacerdotes, Este he *hum* lugar aonde não entra pessoa suja e immunda.”

68 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “senão como Visam *que* tiuera; depois do qual dizia *que* sentia seu coracam totalmente mudado do*que* era dantes.”

69 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “sarando logo da duenca procede agora e anda *muito* mais deuota *que* primeiro.”

70 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320r-v: “*que* ao terceiro dia da duença ficou totalmente fora desi *com* os sentidos todos perdidos.”

71 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “mas *por* mais experiencias *que* nella fizeram não sentia aduente nada.”

72 Scholars have observed that contemporary descriptions of Hell and Purgatory were rather vague about their distinctions and Kathryn A. Edwards has noted that “the debate about whether purgatory was a place or a state” was one firmly underway in theological works. Edwards, “Purgatory.”

experience defined by what Clara could hear and what she could do. Here, the cries and screams of the souls was arresting but more so still was their demands of Clara: namely, that she pray for them. A third site sharply contrasted these previous experiences. Clara perceived it primarily as a visual experience; it was colourful, richly decorated with tapestries, gold, silver and enamel finishes, and brightly lit. Although Clara experienced this third space as “pleasant,” it was also where she was confronted by Church officials and rejected as “dirty and filthy,” an emotional disjuncture that also coincided with (or caused her to sense) the pricking of her mortal flesh and revival into her earthly corporeal form. None of these sensory and emotional interlocations appear to be framed through a female corporeal form. It seems that it was not Clara’s body that sensed and felt in the vision state, but rather her soul, a soul that had no limitations shaped by contemporary gender ideologies and assumptions to its engagement with spiritual matter and interpretive capacity.

However, by contrast, Clara’s living gender identity as a woman did shape other aspects of her vision and her understanding of the Christian community. Throughout the text, various kinds of interactions and networks were identified, which highlighted ways of thinking about the fate of the soul, about relationships between the living and the dead, and about the relationship between communal and individual pious practice. Clara experienced three different kinds of encounter with the dead in her vision. In each case, the dead or their souls engage her in action: first as a woman who shared her story and those of others with Clara, as souls begging for her intercession through prayer, and as the dead child guided her up the staircase, presumably towards Heaven. In at least the first and third cases, Clara identified the individuals whose souls she encountered as people she knew from her own local community. In Hell, “she met a woman, whom she knew in this world,” and in the last case, a boy “who had died at the age of five, three years ago.”⁷³ Moreover, it was made explicit that both these dead individuals knew and recognized Clara by name. Clara noted her surprise, naming a specific emotion of astonishment that seems to relate to two aspects of the encounter, one of which was her personal identification by the woman.⁷⁴ In her second set of interactions with the young boy, the child likewise identified her to the priests. Clara realized, it seems, that she was not anonymous before God and others in the Christian community. She was instead an object of attention and care.

These individuals interacted with Clara, although in the case of the child, it was not made explicit what they discussed. Clara’s meeting with the woman’s soul, though, was framed as both a personal and personalized encounter between the women, in which the woman shared intimate information with her. Clara’s second source of astonishment was “the soul speaking to her and telling her the cause of her torments, what had really happened in that woman’s life.”⁷⁵ Clara was not only singled out as a named individual;

73 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Ali dizia ella, que se encontrou com huma Molher *que* conhecera neste mundo.”

74 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Clara ficara atonita, por se ver nomear por seu nome.”

75 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “e tambem por lhe fallar aquella alma, e dizer a causa de seus tormentos; o *que* na Verdade assi passara em Vida daquella Molher:”

she was the privileged recipient of intimate information of another in her community. Furthermore, these figures appeared to act as guides to Clara. They provided different sorts of experience and perception to her to shape the edification she could draw from the vision. In all three ways, Clara herself was rendered special by the encounter, worthy of attention and care within and by the Christian community, as a Christian.

It is noteworthy too that Clara's guides to Christian edification were not Church officials but rather people from her own community. Church officials, in the shape of the three robed priests, neither know Clara nor accept her (yet) as worthy of entering Heaven. They were literally the gatekeepers of Christian achievement. Although three figures were mentioned, the Holy Trinity or God, Jesus and Mary were not referenced in the text by these names, and the mother and a child mentioned were firmly identified as local individuals. This might suggest how Clara experienced Christian practice—as a faith that was sustained within and among her neighbourhood rather than through mediation of the more distant figure of a priest.

At the same time, Clara's compassionate response, in feeling and practice, to the suffering of others also defined her membership of this Christian community. Clara's time in Purgatory revealed an understanding of the intercessory role of the prayers of the living in preparing souls in Purgatory before their encounter with the divine. The living and the dead remain connected. The living were obliged to remember the dead, as indeed did Clara in remembering the woman and the young boy who once lived in her community. There was no explicit articulation of the context in which these prayers should be offered, such as masses, indulgences, and almsgiving that appeared to have preoccupied contemporary European Catholic communities.⁷⁶ Perhaps in the marginal, dispossessed world in which Clara lived, individual prayers were the most achievable engagement with the dead that was in her own control. In the end, however, Clara's Christian community guides help to focus her on the need to prepare for a good death in her lifetime by her own behaviour, an individual responsibility. Communal practices played a part but so too did individual action and disposition of the heart. Thus, Giram's discussion of Clara's story concluded with her own edifying example to her community and readers, that she "now goes about more devoutly than before."

Significantly, the interpretation of all the visionary experiences were presented as Clara's own, interpretations that came from her sensory and emotional perception of the spiritual. No external mediator was claimed as a guide to her interpretation or identified in the role of spiritual director. The priest who heard her tell of her vision was mentioned only as a recipient of information, "she recounted all this, which a priest heard her tell more than once."⁷⁷ Clara herself was certain what she had experienced: it was "not like a dream, which she said it was not, but as a vision she had."⁷⁸ Ultimately,

76 See studies by Zarri, "Purgatorio 'particolare'"; Tausiet, "Gritos del más allá"; Tingle, "Purgatory and the Counter-Reformation."

77 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: "contou tudo isto que hum padre mesmo lhe ouuio huma ou duas uezes contar:"

78 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: "não como sonho *que* dizia o não era, senão como Visam *que* tiuera."

Clara determined both the nature and meaning of her spiritual experience, made from her perceptions and concerned with her own future behaviours.

Clara's vision provides an important, rare perspective of a Korean convert's spiritual world. She understood its meaning for her faith and its practices as a perceptive experience of the senses and emotions, experienced not in the corporeal gendered form of the earthly world, but of her soul, an entity not limited by gendered expectations and assumptions. In this mode, Clara engaged with souls that she encountered through emotional, compassionate, responses to their suffering that identified her as part of the contemporary Christian community. In another way, though, Clara's earthly gender identity informed the nature of her visionary experience and those who formed the guides on her spiritual journey. It is significant that Clara's vision affirmed her faith through connections to, and interpretation by, deceased people whom she recognized as part of her local community. Neither figure was an adult male faith leader nor God, Jesus, or Mary. Clara's faith guides, a parturient woman, and a young child, were among the most marginal within the Christian community in Japan.

Contributing to the Christian Community

Clara's vision suggested one way in which an evangelized Korean woman understood her faith and the Christian community of which she was part. Christian literature also provided multiple accounts of how evangelized Korean women and men could participate in the wider Christian community, primarily but not exclusively in Japan, by their practical contributions. These accounts highlighted different ways in which their authors perceived Christian action and engagement of women and men with their faith.

Apart from embracing a life of poverty for themselves, both women and men were praised by authors for their work among the less fortunate in the Christian community. Spinola described, for example, the contribution of Miguel:

Miguel had great charity for the poor, although he was also poor himself. And because he could not give them alms, when he was hired to work on Fridays and Saturdays, on which days he always fasted, the food they gave him in the afternoon he took and gave to the poor. And he often called lepers to his home without any repugnance, having them sit with him by the fire, offering them hot water, which was all he could do. And if they were ashamed to come, he said to them: "Do not be ashamed, for we are all brothers, and if I had your illness, I would be like one of you."⁷⁹

79 Nagasaki, March 18, 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 76v: "Teve Miguel muita charidade com os pobres sendo o elle em grande manejra, e porque não podia dar lhes esmola, quando era alugado pera trabalhar sexta feira e sabado, nos quaes dias sempre jeiuaua, o comer que lhe davão depois do meo dia o tomava e dava aos pobres: E os leprosos chamaua muitas vezes a sua casa sem nenhum asco, e os fazia assenter a par de si ao fogo, conuidando os com agoa quente pois com outra cousa não podia, e tendo elles pejo de se chegarem, lhes dizia, não tenhais pejo, pois todos somos irmãos, e se eu tiuera esta doença, seria como hum de vos outros."

Similarly, Manoel worked to assist Christians in Suruga, reported Giram,

finding them so badly treated in the huts of poor lepers who lived on the outskirts of the city, he shed many tears of compassion, serving them there, cleaning their wounds and caring for them with great devotion and diligence, sharing with them and other needy Christians what he had earned by his work.⁸⁰

Jesuits, who did not engage in medical labour themselves, could nonetheless praise the viscerally corporeal contact that such men were engaged in. By contrast, Couros praised Julia in broader, vaguer terms, as “very generous towards the poor [...] trying her best not only in observing the commandments, but also in other works of devotion.”⁸¹ The Franciscan Alfonso Muñoz reported that she was “a Christian of great dedication and charity, not only to us, giving us generous alms, but to other poor Christians, visiting them and supporting many with her alms.”⁸² Descriptions of women’s charitable activities did not document a similar kind of bodily labour and direct contact with the bodies of others to that of evangelized Korean men undertaken among the poor and outcast.

As noted in [Chapter 1](#), Jesuit writers were particularly interested in the potential of Korean men to communicate Christian teachings in their native language. Yet the history produced by Fernão Guerreiro based on the accounts provided by missionaries in the field suggested that women could participate in these activities as well as men, outside of the framework provided by the Society for evangelizing. Guerreiro’s account described the work of a Korean couple, Paulo and Ana, living on the Gotō islands. This married couple, “humble, quiet and devout,” had set aside an oratory in their home. Guerreiro described how Paulo and the local priest worked together. The latter, knowing Paulo’s desire to teach “those of his nation, so that they may be good Christians,” persuaded those of “little devotion and who do not know prayers” to visit Paulo. In Guerreiro’s account, it was the community that had encouraged the priest himself to visit, “because they understood the consolation that the priest would take in seeing his house and the oratory that he had in it, where the other Korean Christians of that village gathered on Sundays and feast days, to pray and to entrust themselves to God.” It was not only the material accoutrements that inspired devotion in the

80 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fols. 402v–403r: “achandoos tam maltratados em humas palhotas de pobres leprosos, *que* nos arrabaldes da cidade uiuiam, derramou muitas lagrimas de compaixam seruindoos ali, alimpando lhes as feridas, e curando delles com mostras da muita deuaçam e diligencia, partindo com os mesmos, e com outros christãos necessitados do *que* por seu trabalho tinha ganhado.”

81 Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244v: “Era *muito* liberal pera *com* os pobres [...] procuraua se esmerar não so na obseruancia, e guarda dos mandamentos, se nam *tambem* nas de mais cousas de deuaçam.”

82 Osaka, February 1607, BL, MS Harley 3570, fol. 390v: “gran christiana de mucha deuocion exemplo y charidad porquela haze nosolo con nostros dando nos buenas limosnas sino con los de mas Christianos Pobres vistiendo los ysus tentando a muchos con sus limosnas.”

community, but also “the two good Koreans, husband and wife [...] who seemed to be inciting the same devotion.”⁸³

Christian authors documented valuable homosocial networks sustained by Korean women within the Christian community, with whom they practised their faith. Mateo de Couros’s report of the Korean servant girl, described above, noted that she was then attending a secret gathering with a Christian woman who sustained her faith.⁸⁴ A report by the Dominican José de San Jacinto described the activities of a group of Christian women in Nagasaki in 1620, “going about teaching doctrine and singing litanies with girls [...] one of them, called Julia, a Korean.”⁸⁵ In that year, his *confrère* Morales recorded in his correspondence that he knew Julia had received Icoaga’s gift of alms because “I had it from the lady through whom you asked me to send the said alms.”⁸⁶ Likewise, in her own letter to Morejón, Julia had asked for the Jesuit father to provide her with items through a certain Okada Maria who was likely another member of the Christian community in Japan.⁸⁷ This hints at a support network among women that is difficult to elucidate fully from these works alone. These communities involved both Japanese and Korean women just as did the group known as the nuns of Miyako (*Miyako no bikuni*), whose companions included the evangelized Korean woman Pak Marina.⁸⁸ Their bonds and the affirmation of faith that they produced concerned the local governor sufficiently to break them apart. As Francisco Colín later recounted:

seeing the joy and happiness with which they suffered that shame for Christ, he ordered them to be separated from each other, and tried to persuade each one separately to leave the faith and religion of the Christians.⁸⁹

Significantly, upon her deathbed in Manila in 1655, it was to her inclusion of this community of women beyond the earthly realm that she would soon join to which Marina’s last thoughts turned, as reported by Colín:

83 Guerreiro, *Relação anual*, 3:157: “humildes, mansos e devotoes,” “aos de sua nação, de modo que sejam bons cristãos,” “alguns de pouca devoção e que não sabem as orações,” “por entenderem a consolação que o padre levaria em ver sua casa e oratorio, que nela tinha, onde os outros cristãos Coreas daquela povoação se ajuntavam nos Domingos e dias de festa, a fazarem oração e a se encomendar a Deus,” “os dois bons Coreans, marido e mulher, [...] parece estavam incitando a mesma devoção.”

84 Nagasaki, October 6, 1603, ARSI, JapSin 54, fol. 210v.

85 [Nagasaki] March 25, 1620, San Jacinto, “Relación breve,” 26: “andavan enseñando la doctrina y cantando letanías con las niñas; [...] La una, llamada Julia, de nación corea.”

86 [Suzuta] February 28, 1620, cited in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 279.

87 December 1613, APECES], Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r. English translation of Morejón’s transcription of the Japanese text in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

88 See Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, chap. 4 on the Beatas of Manila.

89 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:501: “Mas viendo la alegría, y gozo con que padecian aquella vergüenza por Christo, las mandó apartar vnas de otras, y por si, y por otros las procuró persuadir a cada vna en particular, que dexassen la Fé, y Religion de los Christianos.”

At the hour of her death her holy mother and foundress Julia [the *Kirishitan* Naitō Julia] appeared to her as she said to a servant of hers, a servant of God, Monica. “Don’t you see,” she said to Monica, “that Julia comes to see me, so beautiful and resplendent? Don’t you see these angels who are here in my company?”⁹⁰

Christian authors foregrounded the spiritually sustaining properties of these networks among evangelized women in Japan that appeared to unite women despite their cultural differences.

When it came to taking on roles of leadership within the community, however, the Christian archive distinguished Korean men from Korean women. One Korean known as Arizō Pedro, who had become the “*tono’s* treasurer and head of other officers” before resigning his office, had been approached by the Edo community, wrote Spinola as relayed by Giram, to

serve as steward of their confraternity, and he did it so well that he always went to the meetings of the confraternity, putting himself alongside the labourers and common people as though he was one of them, and he went around giving advice to everyone who persevered in holy faith and devotion.⁹¹

As did Guerreiro with Paulo, Christian authors tended to identify Korean men rather than women as conducting the vital work of hosting other members of the Christian community. This became particularly evident as those of the faith increasingly attempted to remain hidden from the gaze of the Japanese authorities.⁹² Both Christian authors and Japanese officials saw the act of accommodating visitors within the household as work conducted by their male heads. Men were thus more often identified with work of this kind within the Christian community. Giram’s account of a Korean baptized as Cosme, a narrative of the man’s eventual death at the hands of Japanese officials, observed how he was identified by authorities because he had housed religious men in his home, prompting his own imprisonment.⁹³ The account of the merchant Girón about Hachikan Joaquin emphasized his bravery, for “it was he who supported the religious most in the troubles and trials that they had, bringing them into his

90 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:504: “A la hora de la muerte se le apareció su santa Madre, y Fundadora Iulia, como lo dixo elle a vna criada suya muy sierua de Dios, que se llamaua Monica. No véis, dixo, Monica a Iulia, que viene a verme tan hermosa, y resplandeeiente? No véis estos Angeles, que están aqui en mi compañía?”

91 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fols. 417v-418r: “qual foi ja tesoureiro do tono, e cabeça, de alguns pagens,” “ser mordomo da confraria, *que* ali ha, e o fazia tambem *que* sempre hia aos ajuntamentos da Confraria, metendo-se entre os lauradores e gente baixa como *hum* delles, e andava dando conselhos a todos que perseuerassem na santa fee, e devação.”

92 Rômulo da Silva Ehalt highlights the work of the confraternities in the Christian Church during this phase in Japan in “Theology in the Dark,” 249–84.

93 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 402v.

home without the fear and cowardice that others showed.”⁹⁴ Only rarely were women investigated by Japanese authorities, as was Marta, the wife of the Korean known as Akashi Jiemon Cayo, who was arrested for hiding Christian missionaries in their home.⁹⁵ Additionally, the Jesuit archive recorded the work of evangelized Korean men in arranging for others in prison for their faith to be supplied with food as well as their spiritual support. Arizō Pedro worked with a fellow Korean, Shōsaku Tomás, a labourer, to deliver resources to those languishing in gaol.⁹⁶ So too did Manoel “visit prisoners of Christ many times, bringing them gifts of food, as he could afford.”⁹⁷ Although Korean men were better placed to have the resources to assist in such ways, we cannot be sure that such actions were exclusively conducted by men. These records of evangelized Korean men’s activities were often documented as part of investigations, torture, and eventual execution for their faith, for which men were more often pursued by Japanese authorities than were women.

However, when Korean women did display leadership behaviours, Christian writers were mixed in their opinions about this form of contribution to the Christian community. The presence of Julia in Ieyasu’s household gave Christians a highly valuable conduit to Japan’s leadership. Giram reported how “often she gives very useful advice as to what she sees is needed for our good and that of Christendom, because as she is in the palace, she knows everything that goes on there.”⁹⁸ The Franciscan Muñoz also reported on Julia’s knowledge of Japan’s political elite, in describing how,

of everything that went on in the palace, she wrote so diligently to the church of Yendo [present-day Tokyo], saying to them, now is the right time to do this, or to stop doing this or that, also to visit or talk to this or that lord, because it would be very important.⁹⁹

Yet, in his same letter, Giram expressed some concern about the intensity of Julia’s engagement: she “behaves with so much devotion and fervour that sometimes she needs to be restrained.”¹⁰⁰ Copies of Julia’s letters that remain within the Jesuit archive

94 Nagasaki, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 199r: “y fue el elque en los trabajos y destierros que los religiosos tuvieron mas los emparo recogendolos em sa casa sinel temor y cobardia que otros lo hazian.”

95 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 112r.

96 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 418r.

97 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 402v: “visitar muitas vezes os presos de Christo leuando lhes presentes de cousas de comer, conforme sua possibilidade soffria.”

98 March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: “da muytas vezes mui proueitosos auisos de que ve sor necessario pera nossa cousas e bem da Christandade porque como esta no paço sabe tudo o que la passa meudamente.”

99 Osaka, February 1607, BL, MS Harley 3570, fol. 390v: “tenia tanto cuyda do enesta ocasion quetodo quanto pasaua en palacio lo escreuia ala Yglesia de Yendo diziendo juntamente ahora conuiene que se haga esta diligencia o que se deje de hazer esto olo otro que se visitase o hablase aeste o a lotro Señor, porque seria de mucha ynportancia.”

100 Nagasaki, March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: “procede com tanta deuação e feruor que ha mister as vezes freo.”

appear to reflect her intense interest in the activities of the Christian Church and her desire to maintain communication with the missionaries, particularly when she was sent into exile, as will be explored in subsequent chapters. She demonstrated her awareness of the wider contexts and conditions under which Christians operated in Japan: “All day long I am anxious thinking that the conditions might have worsened for you [...] I am especially fearful for the situation of the Fathers.”¹⁰¹ Couros similarly noted that in her letters Julia was “asking too of the state of the Church and the Society.”¹⁰² These accounts recorded her keen sense of engagement with Christian politics of conversion in Japan and indeed, her willingness to offer advice about it. Julia’s own, apparently forthright, voice through letter extracts in Christian narratives suggested her expectation of active participation in the institution of the Church.

Finally, although it did not feature in Christian accounts of Korean evangelizing, embedded in these descriptions was evidence of the way joining the Christian community could entail the breaking of other ties for Koreans in Japan. Such appeared the case for a young man, Manoel, living in Suruga, whose experiences were recounted by Giram to the General, Vitelleschi, from Macao in 1617. Several years earlier, Manoel had converted to Christianity, having noticed “the difference between the lives of good Christians and of pagans.” He had been born in Japan to Korean parents, who, Giram suggested, did their very best to dissuade him, until they finally cast him out of their house. Yet Manoel was able “to find support from Christians, whom he knew very well, and never left them.”¹⁰³ Becoming Christian did not simply expand the communities for Koreans in Japan, it could also close the door to others. Moreover, over time, it would increasingly become an identity of considerable risk to those living in Japan, as [Chapters 3 and 4](#) explore further.

On the other hand, there is evidence that Christians’ identity as Koreans also continued to shape their lives in Japan. Christian archives highlighted the challenges for those identified as Korean in Japan, even many years after their arrival. In 1620 Giram enclosed a report from Spinola about a Korean convert, Arizō Pedro, then a married man with three sons. Spinola related how Pedro had risen to a position of some power in Japan, as “the *tono*’s treasurer, and head of other officers. But as he was a foreigner and it was feared that he might be accused of some intrigue, he resigned his office, thereby losing his income.”¹⁰⁴ No matter how high they rose in Japan, men identified as Korean were always vulnerable. Moreover, some ties across the Korean community appear to have continued across the diverse beliefs that they practised, and the Jesuit archive

101 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r; English translation of Morejón’s transcription of the Japanese text in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

102 Mateo de Couros to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 245v: “rogandolhe juntamente que a auisse do estado da Christandade e da Companhia.”

103 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 401v: “foi notando a diferença, que ha entre a vida dos bons christãos e a dos gentios,” “se foi valer do emparo dos christãos, os quaes todos muy bem conhecia, e nunca lhes sahia de casa.”

104 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 417v: “foi ja tesoureiro do tono, e cabeça de alguns pagens: mas como era estrangeiro, e se temia que lhe armassem algun caramilho se escusou do officio, e se retirou lograndose de sua renda.”

provided occasional evidence of Koreans moving between different identities and roles. In March 1621, Mateo de Couros recorded a tale of apostasy of a Japanese Franciscan tertiary, Tanda Domingo. He narrated how a Korean man “who had been brought up from childhood in our house,” had approached a Korean friend, who was then working as an executioner for the Governor of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Gonroku, to secure him Tanda’s rosary from the pyre. As Tanda apostatized, the Korean executioner concluded that the item could not be considered a relic, and took it to give to his Korean friend.¹⁰⁵ The focus of Couros’s account concerned the fragility of the Japanese tertiary’s faith and the strength of that of the Jesuit-educated Korean, who reputedly later threw the object away in a fire, but his narrative revealed lines of communication and community that continued beyond the faith positions that individuals upheld.

Belonging and the Christian Orders

Studies of the mission strategies of the Society of Jesus in the Asian region have identified how Jesuits employed some local social structures and systems that might support Christian practice and community.¹⁰⁶ With regards to Korean women and men, however, Jesuits and other orders did not adapt their approach to their knowledge, limited in any case, of Joseon society. They met Koreans largely as part of a diaspora spread across the region. In Japan, evangelized Koreans operated within structures that had initially been designed for local Japanese cohorts. Over time, however, Koreans began to create structures attendant to their own needs. These included the establishment of their own site of worship, Saint Lawrence, in Nagasaki. The same annual letter by Giram in 1610 that reported its creation also noted the Korean community’s development of its own confraternity and how “even though they are poor, they gather alms among themselves.”¹⁰⁷

At the same time, the Christian orders, with their different approaches to mission, offered alternative social structures for the evangelized Korean community. While Christian authors may have been concerned with the distinctions between them, there is less evidence that Koreans identified strictly with individual orders and some evidence that they moved between Christian groups that offered the spiritual experiences and support that they desired.¹⁰⁸ Korean women and men, for example, appeared to be members of a range of confraternities. The Dominican San Jacinto described the Korean

105 March 15, 1621, ARSI, JapSin 37, fol. 185r: “hum Christão de sua naçam, seu amigo, que se criaue desde minino en nossa Casa.”

106 See, for example, on China, Standaert, “Jesuits in China,” 172.

107 Annual Letter, 1610, ARSI, JapSin 57, fols. 5v–6r: “ainda *que* pobres, aiuntarão suas esmolas entresi.”

108 See, for example, the oath written by the Japanese Paulo Hitomi on behalf of the community at Takatsuki in 1595 that swore their exclusive allegiance to the Jesuits, Anesaki and Sakurai, “Two Kirishitan Documents,” and Hesselink, “Document of the Rosario Brotherhood of Nagasaki.” On the activities of such confraternities, see Cieslik, “Laienarbeit in der alten Japan-Mission,” 176–83; Oliveira e Costa, “The Misericórdias among Japanese Christian Communities”; Gonoï, “The Jesuit Mission and *Jihi no Kumi* (Confraria de Misericórdia),” who also mentions the involvement of evangelized Koreans at 133.

adherent Julia, for example, as “very devout to the Rosary and a promoter of the Holy Confraternity.”¹⁰⁹ Arizō Pedro was a member of the Dominican confraternity of the Rosary (*Rozario no Kumī*) and, as noted above, later in Edo a steward of the Franciscan brotherhood of the Cord (*Kurudan no Kumī*).¹¹⁰ Hachikan Joachin too was a steward of the brotherhood of the Cord.¹¹¹ Although only Korean men were recorded in official roles within such groups, women too were included within them. The Korean couple, Takeya Inés and Cosme, were both members of the confraternity of the Rosary.¹¹² In Nagasaki, Ichibō Juan and his Korean wife were both members of Augustinian third order.¹¹³ These organizations offered social and care practices, charitable support and, later, as Christianity was increasingly repressed by Japanese authorities, protected Christians in their homes and supported those in prison.¹¹⁴

The biographies of evangelized Koreans provided in Christian records revealed the different ways that their authors understood the contributions of women and men to the Christian community. However, when it came to the Society of Jesus itself, only a select group of Korean men could officially become members in some form. The precise roles available to local Asian men had been the topic of rigorous debate among the Society through the sixteenth century, before the General, Claudio Acquaviva, confirmed in 1610 that they might be admitted, albeit not with the same opportunities as other cohorts. Moreover, the Society’s demand that its members knew Latin excluded many. Only a small number of Korean men therefore were recorded as recognized assistants known as *dōjukus*, including Gayo, the former monk, who performed this role in Nagasaki. The activities of these men appeared critical in reaching out to the Korean community across language and cultural barriers. Morejón recorded how Gayo “for many years helped in our houses by his good example and his talks on the Catechism to his compatriots, and after he had learned the language, to the Japanese. [...] In Nagasaki he read them spiritual books and gave talks.”¹¹⁵ Vicente too followed this path into the Jesuit community. According to Morejón, “he turned out a good teacher of catechism,” not only among his Korean compatriots, but having “a like influence on the Japanese as well.”¹¹⁶ As *dōjukus*,

109 [Nagasaki] March 25, 1620, San Jacinto, “Relación breve,” 26–27: “muy devota del Rosario y gran favorecedora de la santa Confradía.”

110 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 155.

111 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 125.

112 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 122.

113 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 165.

114 On Japanese women’s roles in these confraternities, see Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, 335 and the evidence of Japanese women’s involvement in providing prison support in the letter of Jesuit brother Kimura Leonardo, in Hesselink, “A Letter from Jail.”

115 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462r–v: “y siruio en nuestras casas muchos años con buen exemplo y con los sermones del cathecismo a sus naturales y despues de saber la lengua a los Japones. [...] en Nangasaqui les leya libros espirituales platicaua.”

116 BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462v: “salio buen predicador del Cathecismo,” “Yo lo mismo hazia con los Japones.”

both men served a wider Christian community than that of the Koreans alone, a critical role in the development of the Church in Japan undertaken by celibate men connected with a specific religious order. Women could catechize informally, but they could not become *dōjukus* or be recognized in official apostolic roles.¹¹⁷

Some Korean men trained as *dōjukus* but stepped away upon marriage. Among them was “a Korean Christian called Martinho who was our *dojuco* and now is married,” wrote Morejón in the annual letter of 1626.¹¹⁸ He was examined by officers of the governor of Nagasaki in 1626 and his home searched: “saying, among other things, that he was a Brother. He replied that he was not, for he had a wife and children.”¹¹⁹ Martinho may not have been a Brother, but the Society’s men in Japan corresponded with Rome about the possibility of admitting appropriate Korean men, receiving approval to admit them under the same conditions as for Japanese and Chinese in December 1608.¹²⁰ Gayo’s activities as a catechist eventually came to the attention of the authorities in Nagasaki. He spent eighteen months in prison, during which time he requested entry to the Society; he was accepted just before his death.¹²¹

Women had no place performing these assistant roles within the Society of Jesus. As Haruko Nawata Ward has observed, even the much-lauded *Miyako no bikuni* group, led by the elite Japanese woman, Naitō Julia, was never officially recognized as part of the Society.¹²² Although they could not take part in the official roles of the Christian apostolate in Japan, Korean women, like the Japanese women studied by Ward and Kataoka, could contribute to their membership in other ways. They ensured, for example, a stream of boys to support Christian activities and to become *dōjukus* in their turn, in acts of spiritual abandonment. Muñoz described how Julia

gave to the Church where there was need, a twelve-year-old boy as a *dōjuku* whom she had adopted as her son, and another twelve-year-old, brother of our Brother Leon [...] He is a beautiful and graceful boy called Augustin. He went with another brother to paint and gild the palaces of Casindono, who is the tyrant-lord of Fingo.¹²³

117 On *dōjuku* in the wider Jesuit organization, López-Gay, “Las organizaciones de laicos”; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 222–26; and on Japanese women’s forms of ministry, Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, 221–22.

118 Annual letter, 1626, ARSI, JapSin 63, fol. 73v: “hum Christão Corea chamado Martinho, *que* foi nosso *dojuco*, e agora he Casado.”

119 ARSI, JapSin 63, fol. 73v: “dizendo he a lem doutras cousas *que* era Irmão. Respondes lhe *que* não era pois tinha molher, e filhos.”

120 ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 198r and Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 90.

121 Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 126–27.

122 Though it was recognized as affiliated to it, see Ward, “Kirishitan Veneration of the Saints,” 54.

123 Osaka, February 1607, BL, MS Harley 3570, fol. 390v: “y dio para la yglesia por dezir *que* abria nescesidad aun ninō de doze años para *Dojico*, el qual auia adoptado por hijo suyo, y otro muchacho de doze años hermanito de nuestro hermano Leon [...] esmuy hermoso ya graciado llama se Augustin, fue con otro su hermano apintar y dorar los palacios de Casindono, el qual tirano es Señor de Fingo.”

Just as Jesuit writers accepted that forced movement might be the pathway that exposed Koreans to Christianity, they in turn depicted Julia's Christianity as practised and demonstrated by her control of the fate of other vulnerable children.

Moreover, evangelized Korean women could serve the Society and Christian missionaries more broadly as powerful role models of mission possibilities, who existed in the controlled space of the Jesuit archive, their stories and letters mediated by men, either directly or through the transcription of their letters and the paratextual information with which they were contextualised. The Society was by no means the only Christian order that sought contact with Koreans or which reported the activities of evangelized Korean women whom Jesuits encountered or heard about, as this chapter has demonstrated. Although most authors showed no concerted effort to emphasize Koreans among the cohort of Christians in Japan, and the Korean identity of such women was rarely the focus of their appearance in such texts, nevertheless, this was noted as a part of these women's identity. In such ways, Korean adherents travelled the globe. Clara's vision, for example, as it was relayed in Giram's report from Japan, in its translation into Italian, and its inclusion by Guerreiro in his five-volume publication, became a statement of faith for more than Clara alone. It offered edification to many readers across Europe as it was printed and circulated in multiple languages.¹²⁴ This individual's highly individualized vision became part of the communal culture of Catholic Christianity in these new contexts. Not only did it demonstrate the strength of the Church in Japan, but Christian authors utilized such narratives to demonstrate the power and potential of missionary endeavours to the Joseon kingdom. With this objective, the inclusion of speeches and texts attributed to Korean women such as Julia, Clara, Ursula, and Marina played a vital role in seemingly confirming Christian authors' claims about the fervour and other positive features of character that they identified with Korean women, and Korean people more broadly, which made them attractive subjects for proselytizing strategies.

Conclusions

Christian authors articulated the participation of Koreans as a community, within the wider Christian cohort and in relation to its specific orders. They saw different roles for women and men in all three, and different ways in which women and men could demonstrate their faith. Their texts naturally foregrounded what they thought mattered or was right, but they could also embed alternative ideas and practices held by Korean women and men themselves. The Christian archive, unsurprisingly, provided strong evidence to support claims that Korean women and men were driven by their own desires for an active apostolate, but Christian writers saw gender as a key determinant that shaped how women and men experienced and participated in the Christian community that they had joined, as did local Japanese authorities. Belonging was complicated for Koreans,

¹²⁴ Giram, *Lettera di Giappone dell'anno M. DC. VI*, 38–40.

out of place, away from home, making new connections while negotiating the meaning and value of their former ties. Soon the meanings of community, identity, networks, and belonging would be tested in a new context of violence in which, once again, women would find themselves challenged to participate fully in new kinds of experiences as Christians and in the forms that they desired.

Chapter 3

SUFFERING



Map 3.1. Key locations in Japan where activities of evangelized Koreans were recorded in Europe's early seventeenth century. Map created by the author from the Open Historical Map Project (openhistoricalmap.org).

THE YEARS THAT had seen Korean women and men discover Christian teachings in Japan were also those during which the position of Christianity had grown increasingly fraught there. By the end of 1614, the Tokugawa leadership had proscribed the Christian faith, issuing a decree to expel missionaries and their local supporters, sending some Christians into hiding in Japan and others to new lands. Significant political changes in the years following, including the death of the military dictator Tokugawa Ieyasu, the abdication of his successor, Hidetada, and the rise to power of Iemitsu, did not alter the trajectory of intensification of state-sanctioned violence against Christians.¹ However,

¹ Ward, "Kirishitan Veneration of the Saints." For an overview of developments against Christianity in Japan, see Nosco, "Early Modernity and the State's Policies toward Christianity"; Ōhashi, "New Perspectives on the Early Tokugawa Persecution"; Martin Nogueira Ramos, "Neither Apostates nor Martyrs: Japanese Catholics Facing the Repression (1612–Mid-Seventeenth Century)," in *Interactions Between Rivals*, ed. Curvelo and Cattaneo, 361–92.

in the Jesuit archive as well as in wider Catholic textual traditions, violence offered new forms of spiritual expression for evangelized Koreans, just as it did for *Kirishitans* and Society men. Chief among these forms, Christian authors proposed, was the opportunity to participate in the most exclusive of communities, that of the Christian martyrs. Suffering as Christians could be understood as spiritually, and personally, productive. This chapter explores how authors conceptualized the gendered nature of the violence against the Christian community in Japan, an experience that had different contours for Korean-born women and men, and offered distinct meanings for expression of their faith identities and for those who beheld it, as eyewitnesses, authors, and readers.

Korean Women and Psychic Violence

The works of Christian authors attested to a wide range of measures undertaken by Japanese authorities to eradicate the possibility of their faith practices, both at the level of the community and for specific individuals. Destruction of the material culture of Christianity, for example, was described as a source of great communal suffering. Over the course of 1620, the governor of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Gonroku, ordered the destruction of key spiritual sites of the Christian community.² Christian churches, including that of the Korean community, Saint Lawrence, were demolished.³ No services had been performed in these buildings since the edict of 1614, but Mateo de Couros, writing from Nagasaki, identified these sites' intense affective meaning for the local community, "which just by seeing the faithful of this city were consoled."⁴ Almshouses and leper houses were also disbanded, leaving their former inhabitants to find support in more personalized relationships. Those buried in the three Christian cemeteries of the city were exhumed. Couros described how "for several days there was nothing but tears and cries," as the faithful sought to move these remains, including those of Society men, to the Christian cemetery outside the city, San Miguel.⁵ Couros's report balanced the terrible destruction of Nagasaki's Christian material culture with a powerful message about the ongoing commitment of Christians to survive as a community.

Although not specifically targeted by such measures, evangelized Koreans were certainly affected by them. From 1614, their experiences formed part of the growing

2 On the biography and career of Hasegawa Gonroku, see Shimizu Hirokazu 清水紘一, "Hasegawa Gonroku kō." 長谷川権六考 [Hasegawa Gonroku], 51–59. For interpretation of his character, in the context of the violence towards Christians, see the assessment of Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 345–46. On the Japanese administration of Nagasaki at this period more broadly, see Shimizu Hirokazu 清水紘一, "Kinsei shotō Nagasaki bugyō no ichi kōsatsu." 近世初頭長崎奉行の一考察 [A note on the *Nagasaki Bugyo* of the early Edo period], 33–36.

3 Annual Letter, 1620, ARSI, JapSin 59, fols. 240–243; and Mateo de Couros to Muzio Vitelleschi, March 20, 1620, ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 138r.

4 March 20, 1620, ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 138r: "que só com a uerem os fieis desta Cidade se consolauão."

5 ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 138r: "por alguns dias não auia senão Pranto, e lagrimas pellas Casas."

Jesuit archive of Christian suffering in Japan. However, natal identity could shape how evangelized Koreans experienced the increasing violence. In Ieyasu's household, the Korean adherent Julia came under increasing pressure to renounce her faith. Jesuit writers emphasized the intense emotions that they suggested characterized her personal relationship with Ieyasu. Of the Christian women in his residence, wrote Couros,

the foremost of these three was Julia, a maiden Korean by nation, a person of singular prudence and discretion, and as such esteemed by the king and respected by his household, and so, knowing how resolute they were, full of anger and fury, he said that he cared little that Lucia and Clara would recant but that it was insufferable that Julia did not want to obey his commands, and that in this she showed herself to be ungrateful and without judgment.⁶

Julia's ingratitude was directly connected to her identity as a Korean, as articulated by Ieyasu in these Jesuit accounts, and he employed it to create a particular psychic pressure upon her, telling Julia

that she had to remember the many and great favours that she had received from him, and that being a poor foreigner, taken captive in the Korean war, she had risen so high as to be a lady of the palace of the Lord of *Tenka* [all under heaven; i.e. Japan], more than others, one of those he trusted the most, always taking her with him wherever he went, and she deserved to be whipped for such great ingratitude and stubbornness.⁷

Julia's status as an outsider upon whom generous gifts had been bestowed constituted a potential vulnerability. The affective dimensions that Jesuit writers seemed to have hoped might encourage an interest in Ieyasu for Christianity now took on very different and problematic resonances for an evangelized Korean woman.

Julia replied, with prudent restraint, that she never denied having received many favours from the king, whom she had always wanted to serve as these merited. However, she had a much greater obligation to God, from whom she had not only received life, but his divine Majesty had bestowed upon her such singular mercy that, being born in the midst of paganism in Korea, he had taken her from there and [...] given her news of himself and of his most holy law, in which alone salvation consisted.⁸

6 Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fols. 243v–244r: “A principal das très era Julia, huma Donzela Coreia denaçam, pessoa de singular auiso e discriçam, e como tal estimada do Rey, e acatada dos de casa por onde sabendo da resoluçam em que estauam, cheyo de ira e furor, disse que pouco lhe daua de nam tornarem atrás Luzia e Clara, mas nam querer Julia obedeçer a seu mandado, era cousa insofrúel, e *que* nisso mostraua ser huma ingrata, e sem juizo.”

7 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244r: “*que* deuera de selembrar das muitas e avatajadas merces *que* delle tinha reçibido, e *que* sendo ella huma pobre estrangeira catiua na guerra de Coreia, veo amontar tanto, *que* chegou a ser Donzela do paço do *senhor* da Tenca de Japam. E nam qual quer, senam das principais de quem mais fiaua, leuandoa sempre consigo onde quer *que* fosse, *que* em todo caso merecia ser castigada por tam grande ingratidam e contumacia.”

8 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244r: “Aoque Julia com hum prudente comedimento respondeo, *que* nam negaria nunca auer reçibido Delrey muitas merces, ásquais sempre desejava seruir como ellas mereçiam: porem *que* em muito mor obrigaçam estaua a Deos, do qual alem deter reçibido o ser, usara S diuina Magestade come ella de tam singular misericordia, *que* com ser naçida no meyo da infidelidade da Coreia, de lá atirara, e [...] onde lhe dera notícia de sy, e de sua Santissima ley, naqual só consistia a saluaçam.”

Couros's account suggested that Julia had been punished more than others because she had been in the inner circle of power and indeed part of the social and emotional life of Ieyasu himself. Moreover, as in the case of Arizō Pedro discussed in [Chapter 2](#), her identity as a Korean could be activated by court ladies to isolate her from others. They "called her a barbaric foreigner, who clearly showed she had neither breeding nor education, all of which she heard but suffered in silence."⁹

For several authors, Julia's subsequent banishment from Ieyasu's residence was framed in terms of loss of both her influential status and material goods. The Spanish merchant and long-time resident in Japan, Bernadino de Ávila Girón, whose accounts now form part of the Jesuit archives, contrasted Julia's former life of luxury with her banishment to the obscure island of Ōshima, noting how "she did not carry with her the precious kimonos she wore in the palace, for she confided that she would not need them in the wilderness she was going to."¹⁰ Instead, she celebrated the "special kindness God our Lord gave her, the great wealth she had because they had let her take pictures, a rosary and other Christian things."¹¹ Thus she expressed it as a far greater spiritual suffering, these accounts reported, when her access to Christian material culture become restricted. An anonymous Jesuit author noted that, exiled to Kōzushima, Julia could not have mass or confession, and she had asked for a table to be painted with accoutrements in order to imagine the mass.¹² Couros likewise reported that, in her letters, Julia requested "some books with the life of the Apostles, Martyrs and Holy Virgins, an hourglass, a bell and two mass candles."¹³

Another Korean woman endured psychic torture carried out by the misuse of spiritual material culture. This is consistent with Haruko Nawata Ward's observation that "Jesuit texts and VOC captains' diaries show that inquisitors knew how important such objects as crosses, rosaries, reliquaries, and images were for Kirishitan identity, and that they continued to confiscate these to weaken the Kirishitan movement."¹⁴ Sebastián Vieira recounted to the General in 1614 how the wife of a powerful lord in Arima had invited a Buddhist monk to their court, with the aim to have her Christian attendants

⁹ ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244r: "lhe chamauam estrangeira barbara, e sem primor; que bemmostraua nam ter sangue nem criaçam, o que tudo elle ouuia calando com sofrimento."

¹⁰ Nagasaki c. 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 219r: "nollevo consigo bizarros quemonos que usarva em palacio como quien confia queno los avia menester pera el yermo donde ira."

¹¹ ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244v: "auendo que era mimo particular que Deos N. S. lhe fazia; e que hia mui rica, pois lhe deixavam leuar as imagens, contas e outras cousas de que usam os christãos." On the importance of the rosary to *Kirishitan* devotion, see discussion in Ward, "Kirishitan Veneration of the Saints," 61–62.

¹² December 1613, APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r: "petijt In tabula depicta sacerdote sacrificarte, et campanila ut missa fibi representaret."

¹³ Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 245v: "algum liuro que contenha as vidas dos Apostolos, dos Martyres e das Santas Virgens, hum Relogio de area, huma campainha, e duas velas da missa."

¹⁴ Ward, "Kirishitan Veneration of the Saints," 66.

abjure their faith. The monk was to distribute Buddhist accoutrements to Christian men and ladies. Vieira noted the Christians' resistance, for "even if they were put into their hands, they would drop them straightaway."¹⁵ Most notable was the response of the evangelized Korean Máxima, who "full of zeal, picked them up and threw them in the monk's face."¹⁶ The devotional objects of the Christians were confiscated from them and Máxima was ordered to "be locked in a tower, tied with ropes to a column so that she could not move, and given no food or drink, so that she would either quickly die or stop being a Christian."¹⁷ These kinds of violence were described by Jesuit authors as providing Korean women such as Julia and Máxima who were living in the residences of powerful Japanese lords, with new opportunities to attest to their commitment to the Christian faith, by rejecting the security and protection that an elite household offered them in Japan.

The Threat of Sexual Violence

Jesuit authors' narratives also made clear that sexual violence was an ever-present aspect of Korean women's experiences of violence inflicted because of their Christian faith. This was a delicate topic. None of the accounts suggested that an evangelized Korean woman had been violated, but they did voice significant concerns about their bodily integrity. Sexual violence of various kinds not only affected Korean women, nor indeed only women. *Kirishitan* women were threatened with being sold to brothels if they did not recant, and in 1616, twelve women were.¹⁸

Descriptions of Korean women's experiences suggest that acts to renounce the sexual dimensions conveyed by their bodies were central to their acceptance of Christian identity in moments of confrontation. Sebastián Vizcaíno, writing from Mexico in 1614, described how when Julia was cast out from Ieyasu's residence for refusing to abjure her faith, "the good lady [...] cut off her hair rather than give up her faith and do the emperor's will."¹⁹ Similarly, Vieira's report about the experiences of Máxima within another elite household, described how "persevering always in her initial constancy, the

15 Nagasaki, March 16, 1614, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 268v: "E ainda *que* lhas metião nas mãos adeixauão logo cair."

16 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 268v: "a *quem* deu o zelo tomando as atirou e deu *com* ellas no rosto do bonzo."

17 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 269r: "a mandou meter em huma torre, ordenando *que* con cordas a atassem a huma coluna de modo *que* se não podesse menear, e lhe não dessem de comer, *nem* de beber pera *que* assi ou acabasse a vida de pressa, ou deixasse de ser Christãa."

18 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 198–200. Morejón describes Japanese women fleeing to the mountains in Arima and Kuchinotsu to avoid being raped, as noted by Ward, "Women in the Eyes of a Jesuit."

19 Mexico, 1614, BNE, MS 3046, fol. 110v: "la buena señora [...] corta do los cauellos que dejar la fee in hazer la voluntad de lempedor:"

tono [lord] ordered that she be delivered to one of the governors, in whose house she cut off her hair as a sign that she was leaving the world."²⁰ This was an act also undertaken by *Kirishitan* women, evidence of "a public profession of perpetual chastity," suggested the Jesuit father Gregorio de Céspedes.²¹

Christian authors described acts of public shaming focused on rendering women's bodies visible to onlookers. Francisco Colín detailed the treatment of the female spiritual community of which the Korean adherent Marina was a member. After rejecting the demands of the governor of Miyako (present-day Kyoto) to abjure their faith, "he ordered them all to be stripped and put out on the street again."²² Public shaming of this kind, as Ward notes, was not an act exclusively inflicted upon on women.²³ Evangelized Korean and *Kirishitan* men were also stripped, with soldiers "mocking them, calling them brutes who were not ashamed to be seen naked in front of so many people."²⁴ However, the sexual dimension of this act was emphasized in Colín's account as he observed the high risk of the women's steadfast refusal to abjure their faith:

many armed soldiers came to threaten them on behalf of the governor that, if they did not give up their faith, they would take them naked to the public place of bad women, so that they would be affronted, and stripped of their honour.²⁵

Colín ensured that readers could not be left in any doubt that the women equally saw their own sexual dishonour and potential violence as a terrible consequence. Indeed, he writes, "this threat caused great horror to the servants of God," and their leader, "fearing that some of her younger companions might falter at the fear of losing such a precious jewel, advised them to get away."²⁶ By this account, readers could understand that those

20 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 269r: "*quem persuerando sempre em sua primeira constancia, o tono a mandou entregar a hum dos gouernadores em cuja casa, cortando os cabellos em sinal de deixar o mundo.*"

21 Report of Céspedes in *Jesus: cartas*, vol. 2, fols. 218–220, here fol. 220r: "*fez logo hum publico voto de guardar con toda sua vida castidade.*" See discussion in Boxer, "Hosokawa Tadaoki and the Jesuits, 1587–1645," 88.

22 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:501: "*les mandó desnudar a todas, y ponerlas otra vez en la calle.*"

23 Ward notes the gender-inclusive nature of such punishments in Ward, "Women in the Eyes of a Jesuit."

24 Carlo Spinola to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, March 18, 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 72v: "*zombando delles com os chamarem brutos que não tinhão pejo de estarem assi nus diante de tanta gente.*"

25 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:501: "*Vinieron despues muchos soldados armados a amenaçarlas de parte del Gouernador, que sino dexauan la Fé, las auian de lleuar desnudas al lugar publico de las malas mugeres, para que alli fuessen afrentadas, y despojadas de su honestidad.*"

26 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:501: "*Causó esta ameaça gran horror a las sieruas de Dios; y temiendo Iulia, que algunas de sus compañeras de las mas moças, no flaqueassen con el temor de la perdida de joya tan preciosa, les aconsejo, que se ausentassen.*"

who remained steadfast risked a terrible cost. Reputational and bodily concerns, Colín suggested, shaped Christian women's decisions to protect other women, although it did not cause those who were his protagonists to abjure their beliefs.

The acute bodily vulnerability of women to sexual aggression that missionary authors perceived also gave Christian women the means to attest to exceptional fortitude in circumstances of violent torture. One such account was relayed by the Portuguese Jesuit Cristóvão Ferreira, a man who would later be unable to withstand his own torture by Japanese authorities, leading him to apostatize. From hiding, Ferreira recorded an account of the experiences of Isabel, an evangelized Korean from Nagasaki who was tortured during the heightened tensions of the governorship of Mizuno Kawachi in 1629. Ferreira narrated how Isabel was taken to the Mount Unzen hot springs and subjected to a range of violent acts by a large group of Japanese guards.²⁷ He evoked her vulnerability, "taking off the clothes she had on, and binding her feet and hands," "surrounded by about twenty men, one of them approached her, either to torment her or to do her some injury and affront."²⁸ However, Isabel was saved in this instance by the unusual behaviour of the water and the vision of a "very fair child of three or four years whom they saw just then coming out the pool." The sky "darkened so extraordinarily that giving up what they intended to do, with no less haste than fear, they all fled."²⁹ Ferreira's text never clarified the precise nature of the risk Isabel faced in this moment, although he detailed many other moments of physical torture inflicted upon her. The text suggested this was something that could not be named, so serious an offence that a supernatural force had intervened to save her.

If the sexual predation of evangelized Korean women was never realized in these texts, Jesuit authors left no doubt that it was a live possibility. In his narrative about the banishment of Julia to a series of remote islands, João Rodrigues Giram also recounted the experiences of her fellow *Kirishitan* exiles. One of these was Magdalena, who was separated from Julia and sent to Hachijōjima where the interest paid to her by a local

27 Mizuno Kawachi, governor in Nagasaki from 1626 to 1629, introduced water torture at Unzen. See discussion in Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 351–52. On Isabel, see also No Sung Hwan 魯成煥 / 노성환, "Nagasaki jiyegui Joseonin choenjyudo," 나가사키 지역의 조선인 천주교도 [Korean Catholics in the Nagasaki region], in *Imnanporo: kkeullyeogan saramdeurui iyagi* 임란포로: 끌려간 사람들의 이야기 [The captives of the Imjin War and their stories], 149–92, here 164–67.

28 August 20, [1631], ARSI, JapSin 62, fol 4r–v: "tendoa cercada mais de vinte homens, hum delles sechegou perto della, ou fosse pera atormentar, ou pera lhezazer alguma outra injurias, e afronta," "a despojarão dos uestidos que sobre si tinha, e amarrandoa de pes emãos."

29 ARSI, JapSin 62, fol. 4r: "de hum menino muito aluo detres ou quatro annos que nomesso tempo viram saira daquelle tanque," "se escurecer tam extraordinariamente que disistendo doque pretendião fazer com não menor pressa que medo fugiarão todos."

official took a dangerous turn. Magdalena's continued rejection of the governor's sexual advances led to her bodily disfigurement and ultimately her death:

Annoyed, the governor ordered first to cut off her nostrils and ears, and then her head; and thus, that blessed soul was baptized in her own blood [...] such wonderful means gave her the crown of martyrdom, a thing rare and difficult in itself, and much more for being a young servant girl, raised all her life in paganism, without Christian example or conversation.³⁰

Christian authors presented women's best course of resistance and demonstration of agency in the face of sexual violence as to seek death.

Physical Suffering as the Vulnerable Christ

It was not only the loss of material culture, Christian or elite, and the threat of sexual violence that Jesuit authors highlighted in their descriptions of Korean women's experience of violence for their faith. The Christian archive also documented acts of suffering and the rationales that Korean women expressed for their willingness to persevere.

For Bernadino de Avila Girón, the bodily suffering of Julia was presented as a profound contrast to her previous lifestyle in Ieyasu's residence. On a series of remote islands, "courageous Julia" "took only one servant, who was in fact pregnant and gave birth on the island, where Julia had no other servant."³¹ As a result, Julia herself was obliged to carry out manual labour, forced to

fetch water for them both; and the holy woman writes with much grace that as the place to bring it was far away and she had nothing to keep it in but a poor vessel such that when they arrived at their poor hut there was little in it, and her clothes were all wet.³²

Girón reinforced the contrast of Julia's new lifestyle with her previous experiences by noting that even her maidservant was "also delicate, having been brought up like her mistress."³³ Girón's account though emphasized Julia's stated willingness to suffer such depredations: "she went on to say that despite the many trials and troubles she was very

30 Japan, January 10, 1620, Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 465r: "daqual agastado o Governador lhe mandou primeiramente cartar os narizes, o orelhas e depois acabeça, indo aquella ditosa alma baptizada em seu proprio sangue [...] tam marauilhoso meyo lhe deu a coroa do Martyrio, cousa na verdade rara e difficultosa em si, e muito mais porlo ser de huma molher moça criada toda sua vida na gentilidade sem exemplo e conuersação de *christãos*."

31 Nagasaki c. 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 219r-v: "Valerosa Julia" "ueno solo una moça contigo y ella a certo ir preñada y pario en ala isla a donde no tenia Julia otro serviço."

32 ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 219v: "necessario yr por agua para ambas y escriue *com* mucha *gracia* la sancta muger *que* tambien allugar donde la mismas lejos y que no tenia en que tenerla sino una uassija tal *que* quando llegaron a la pobre cabana auisa que dado poca en ella y ne nia *com* los vestidos todos molados."

33 ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 219v: "ella tambien es delicada porque ser criado consu *senora*."

comforted and happier than ever to suffer for love of Our Lord.”³⁴ Couros’s account of Julia’s exile from Ieyasu’s household similarly focused on her embrace of bodily suffering, although narrated in more graphic and violent terms than had Girón. He described how at the port where she was to embark for Ōshima, she had rejected a litter and insisted upon walking barefoot on the rough road, as they made their way to the boat, “since, from a young age, she had been raised in great comfort, and the roughness of the road was great, so much blood flowed from her feet and they were so badly wounded, that although her great fervour gave her strength, she was scarcely able to go forward.”³⁵

Significant to our access to women’s voices, Couros included within his account a letter purported to have been written by Julia at the moment of her exile. In this context, Julia’s own words acted to verify Couros’s claims about her enthusiasm to suffer for her faith.

In these last few days, the Lord has shown me wonderful mercy. I was sentenced to exile on an island. Oh, how mysterious is divine Providence! Not having yet done any service to your divine Majesty, now you single me out for such favour and I am willing to suffer whatever labours and afflictions may occur to me.³⁶

Elsewhere Couros paraphrased other letters in which Julia lamented that she was unable to receive communion and hear mass but assured her recipient that she “was not troubled by these hardships, but felt herself, in that poverty and lowness, richer than when she lived in the palace, and more favoured by her heavenly spouse than she was by the earthly king.”³⁷ A further letter written by Julia, which was addressed to Morejón and which entered the Jesuit archive, was understood to have been written from Kōzushima. This missive likewise emphasized Julia’s embrace of suffering in the cause of her faith.

I hope everything will happen according to God’s will. I think all will occur for the good of the Church, and you would better not be preoccupied at all about the things here. The place is a very suitable one to serve God while fulfilling his will, and you should not be anxious [about me].³⁸

34 ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 219v: “y dize muy que compascer muchos trabajos y necessidades esta mui consolada y mas contenta *que* nunca per padecer per amor de *nuestro señor*.”

35 Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol 245r: “E como sempre desde minina foi criada *em* muito mimo, e a aspereza do caminho era grande, corrialhe *tanto* sangue dos pés, e estauam ja tam mal tratados, *que* posto *que* seu *muito* feruor lhe daua forças, todauia escaçamente podia dar posso.”

36 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 245r: “Vsou o *Senhor* comigo de huma marauilhosa misericordia por occasiam do *que* estes dias socedeo. Eu fui condenada a degredo em huma Ilha. Ócomo a diuina *prouidencia* he oncomprensiuel! nam tendo eudantes feito algum *seruiço* a S D *Magestade*, fazerme agora tam assinalada merce, o estimo *em* muito, e fico disposta pera soffrer quantos trabahlhos, e aflições se offerecerem.”

37 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 245v: “Nam afrontou a deuota *Confessora* de *Christo* com estes trabalhos, antes naquella pobreza, e mingoa se tem por mais rica que quando no paço viuia. E por mais fauoreçida do esposo celestial, do que era do *Rey* temporal.”

38 December 1613, APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r. English translation of Morejón’s transcription in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

The inclusion of Julia's letter texts within the Jesuit archive and within Jesuit narratives appeared to confirm missionaries' claims about her intense fervour as well as her autonomy in the decisions and acts that she had undertaken as a Christian.

Francisco Colín's narrative of the trials faced by the group of nuns that included Pak Marina also emphasized the physical violence meted out on their bodies by Miyako's authorities. When "they protested in great unity that they would sooner lose a thousand lives," the governor ordered that they all be stripped: "There was Julia [Naitō] with her companions in the cold and ice, in only their undergarments, for decency, and much snow falling on them."³⁹ Later, the women were punished by *tawara-zeme*, bundled in straw sacks and taken to the banks of a frozen river, where they were left upon the ground.⁴⁰ Colín's narrative foregrounded how the women converted the would-be punishment into an expression of their faith. When they endured and were returned to the city, the "illustrious ladies, confessors of Christ, entered the streets of Miyako triumphantly in their sacks as if on triumphal chariots."⁴¹ Colín singled out the evangelized Korean Marina as the "most observant in devotion to her rule, and shared with the rest in the trials and ignominy of their sacks." He emphasized her particular fervour to express her faith as they returned to the town to be publicly shamed: "she proclaimed through the streets, in her half Japanese (which, being Korean, she did not speak well), that she remained firm and constant in the faith of Jesus Christ, for whom she was prepared to die."⁴² A 1639 anonymous anti-Christian propaganda chapbook, *Kirishitan Monogatari*, included a description of state-based punishments inflicted on those of Christian faith in Miyako, including on women in a nunnery. This text depicted the *tawara-zeme* punishment and mocked how "[f]rom morning until noon their tongues were capable enough to keep blabbing [...] and they kept telling one to the other: 'Well, now, how fortunate! [...] we'll obtain salvation from Deus and be born in *Paraiso*,'" until at last they recanted.⁴³ Although it was viewed through very different frameworks, both texts pointedly noted the significant presence of women's voices at these scenes of torture.

In a number of Christian accounts, Korean women not only endured suffering but embraced it. The role model expressed by these women, as they were articulated in these texts, was the suffering Jesus. This is not surprising, for martyrdom, about which a rich

³⁹ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:501: "Pero como ellas en mucha conformidad protestassan, que perderian antes mil vidas," "Alli estuuo Iulia son sus compañeras al frio, y yelo con solos los vestidos interiores, por la decencia, cayendo sobre ellas gran cantidad de nieue."

⁴⁰ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:502.

⁴¹ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:502: "Entraron las ilustres señoras, y Confessoras de Christo, triunfando por las calles de Meaco en sus sacos, qual en otros tantos carros triunfales."

⁴² Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:504: "Y quando las boluieron a entre en la Ciudad de Meaco metidas en ellos, con su media lengua Iapona (que por ser Corea, no la hablaua bien) pregonaua por las calles, que boluia firmer, y constante en la Fé de Iesu Christo, por quien deseaua morir."

⁴³ Translated in Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 359.

Japanese-language literature circulated in Japan, was itself an imitation of Jesus's death, although without the redemptive powers of the latter.⁴⁴ Ward has argued that Morejón's depiction of Japanese women's experiences articulated "his theology of Christ as God-becoming-vulnerably-naked in the Passion, and Christian women's imitation of this Christ."⁴⁵ Morejón's work made a particular point of emphasizing "weak women" who, remarkably in his view, faced the challenge of physical and psychic violence wrought upon them.⁴⁶ This was not only the case for Morejón or for *Kirishitan* women: Jesuit presentations of evangelized Korean women likewise charged them with a virile energy that made them more than women, honorary men. Máxima, for example, had been locked away and refused sustenance for more than a week. "During all this time," wrote Vieira, "she had no other relief than prayer and the remembrance that it was for the love of God that she was in this state."⁴⁷ Vieira described how she had sustained herself with rain, a gift from God, that had enabled her to moisten her lips.

it seemed so bitter that she could not drink it but for thought of the vinegar Christ our Lord drank on the Cross, and by that she was so consoled that until the end of the twelve days that she was in this prison, she ate and drank nothing.⁴⁸

Likewise, Couros drew attention to Julia's active desire for physical suffering that would allow her to experience sufferings akin to Christ. Her rationale for leaving her litter and walking barefoot on the rough road, Couros reported, was that "since Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he went up Mount Calvary with the cross on his back, he was not in a litter nor wearing shoes but barefoot and shedding a lot of blood, she, who was his servant, wanted to imitate him on that path."⁴⁹ Such women described spiritual engagement with Christ through experiences that were, for them, universal rather than gender-specific bodily experiences.

In other accounts of state-sanctioned violence carried out on Korean women, Jesuit reports emphasized the steadfast determination of such women to remain faithful to their beliefs under extreme physical and mental pressure. Ferreira, for example, recorded how most adherents apostatized. Yet

44 Rausch, "Choosing to Die," 88–89. On *Kirishitan* women's engagement with this literature, see Ward, "Women and Kirishitanban Literature."

45 Ward, "Women in the Eyes of a Jesuit," 122; see also Ward, "Kirishitan Veneration of the Saints," 65.

46 Ward, "Women in the Eyes of a Jesuit."

47 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 269r: "não tendo ella em todo este tempo outro aliuiio mais *que* a da oração, e lembrança *que* por amor de *Deos* se uia naquelle estado."

48 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 269r: "a sentio tam amargosa *que* não pode leuar pera baixo, senão *com* a consideração do fel e vinagre *que* Christo nosso *Senhor* na crus bebeo, e *com* ella ficou tam consolada *que* ate a cabo de doze dias *que* nesta prisão esteue sem comer, *nem* beber outra cousa."

49 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 245r: "*que* pois N.S. JESU X^o, *quando* hia ao monte Calvario *com* a Cruz áscostas, nam hia em andor ou liteira, né calçado se nam descalço derramando muito sangue, ella *que* era serua sua ququeria imitar naquelle caminho."

one among all of them held to her confession of faith, complying with the honour of God and his most holy law, named Isabel, Korean by nation, who should rightly be praised as a strong and brave woman, for neither the example of the others nor the weakness of her husband nor the persuasions of the infidels nor the cruelty of her torture were enough to move her from her constancy.⁵⁰

She had been bound, crushed with heavy stones, and drenched with boiling water. Ferreira marvelled that “it was very great torture but much greater was the spirit with which the brave woman suffered it and resisted the diabolical advice that they gave to her all the while.”⁵¹ Across days of torture, Ferreira emphasized how she “made so little of the torture, and the spirit with which she suffered it was such that her tormentors despaired of being able to conquer her with them.”⁵² When the Japanese officials threatened to keep up their verbal and physical violence for ten or even twenty years, Ferreira recorded what she had told him was her retort:

“Ten or twenty years,” answered the brave woman, “are very few. One hundred or more, if my life should last so long, I will suffer as much torture as you can inflict, not denying the law that I profess. That is enough for me, whether I stay alive or not. So cease your advice, because you will never have another answer from me.”⁵³

Ferreira framed his account of Isabel’s suffering for her faith in terms that drew attention to contemporary gender ideologies. He observed the particular nature of the Japanese authorities’ arguments for her abjuration, “to deny her faith following the example of her husband, for according to the laws and custom of Japan the woman follows him in all things and is not mistress of herself.”⁵⁴ But Ferreira emphasized Isabel’s own assertion of her spiritual autonomy above the authority of her husband.

50 Japan, August 20, 1631, ARSI, JapSin 62, fol. 4r: “so entre todas ellas ficou tendo mão na confissão da fé, e aconodindo polla honra de Dios e desua santissima lei huma chamada Isabel Corea de nação a qual com rezam deue ser louuada de forte, e ualorosa molher pois nem o exemplo das outras nem, afraqueza domarido, nem as persuasões dos infieis nem acrueldade dos tormentos foram bastantes pera a mouer de sua constancia.”

51 ARSI, JapSin 62, fol. 4v: “era otormento mui grande, mas muito maior o animo com que aualeroza molher o sofria e resistia aos diabolicos conselhos que entre tanto lhe davão.”

52 ARSI, JapSin 62, fol. 5r: “Fazia a valeroza molher tam pouco cazo dos tormentos, e era tal o animo com que os sofria que desesperando osmesmos tormentadores deapoder vencer com elles.”

53 ARSI, JapSin 62, fol. 5r: “dez, evinte annos respondia a valeroza molher, he muito pouco. cento emais, sea vida tanto me durar, sofrerei quantos tormentos meder des, ou mematers com elles, não negar a lei que professo isso me basta, ou fique com uida, ou sem ella. pollo que cessai de nossos concelhos por que nunca terei de mim outra reposta.”

54 ARSI, JapSin 62, fol. 4r: “negasse a fé aexemplo domarido pois conforme o custume, e leis de Jappam a molher em tudo o segue, e não he senora desi.”

“Even though,” Isabel replied, “he has denied it, that is no reason for me to deny it too. Because even though in other things the wife follows her husband in everything, salvation does not depend on him, all the more so since I have another spouse [Christ].”⁵⁵

Suffering created a context that produced important accounts for the Christian archive of women’s voices, demonstrating acts of resistance and resolve in their beliefs.

The context of torture also saw some adherents experience visions and prophetic states, including, in Ferreira’s account, Isabel. Ferreira noted a series of visions that she experienced during her torture at this period. These includes a further example involving a young child, similar to others reported by Korean adherents.⁵⁶ During the period in which she was tortured, Isabel “spent the whole night in prayer, in which the Lord saw fit to appear to her as a boy three or four years old, exceedingly beautiful, the sight of whom left her greatly joyful and constant in her faith.”⁵⁷ Finally, however, when Isabel was returned to the governor in Nagasaki, she had been rendered

very weak from the injuries of the torture [...] resisting as much as she could, they seized her hand by force and putting ink to it, pressed it onto the paper, on which it was written that she had retracted her faith, as if she had signed it, and not allowing her to say a word they sent her home.⁵⁸

Isabel had in the end been defeated by her frail and damaged body, as Ferreira presented it, not by her spirit. Yet it was because of her survival that Ferreira was able to learn of her experiences and, through his account, Isabel was rendered a part of the record of Christian suffering in a way that might never otherwise have been visible. Through the Jesuit’s writing, Isabel became part of a history of the Christian community.

Evangelized Korean women stood alongside their *Kirishitan* counterparts in suffering for their faith as Japan’s authorities increased their steps to repress Christianity. On some occasions, Japanese authorities even tortured Christian women in the hopes that it might break the resolve of male adherents. Morejón provided the example of the evangelized Korean known as Akashi Jiemon Cayo and his wife Marta who had harboured missionary men in their home. Morejón described how Cayo had suffered as “they burned the face of his wife with candles,” but he did not

55 ARSI, JapSin 62, fol. 4r: “Ainda que elle respondeo Isabel a negou, não he isso bastante pera eu tam bem anegar, por que Ainda que nas outras cousas a molher siga omarido, com tudo no que toca, asalvaçam não deponde delle: quanto mais que eu tenho outro spozo.”

56 See [Chapter 2](#).

57 ARSI, JapSin 62, fol. 4v: “Aquella noite passou toda em oração, naqual o senor teue por bem vizitala com a vista de hum menino detres ou quatro annos deidade, sobre maneira fermoso cuja vista a deixou grandemente alegre, e constante nafé.”

58 ARSI, JapSin 62, fol. 5r: “mui fraca por causa das chagas dos tormentos [...] respugnando ella quanto pode lhe tomarão por pura força amão, e pondolhe tinta nella nelle lha chegarão ahum papel. em que tinha escrito retrocedia na fé, como seo assinara, e não consentindo que fallasse palaura alguma amandarão pera sua caza.”

reveal the whereabouts of hidden Christians.⁵⁹ Ferreira contextualised Isabel's actions as remarkable within the conventions of female behaviour in Japan, with authorities reportedly confounded to see "a woman overcome them and that the more they fought her, the more constant and strong they found her."⁶⁰ After more than a week of torture, Isabel endured "not without great astonishment from these same infidels who frankly confessed never to have seen such courage and spirit in a woman."⁶¹ Some years later, in 1658, the inquisitor Inouye Chikugo no kami, left a confidential report for his successors, named the *Kirishito-ki*. He had numbered among the key officials active in the campaign to eradicate Christian adherents. In his work, he observed that "Korean Kirishitans, once converted, are deeply dedicated, the men and the women. Especially the women, once persuaded, are deeply dedicated."⁶² Theirs were stories that circulated in the Christian archives.

However, another set of evangelized women featured less commonly in Christian sources. They had chosen, or were forced like Isabel, to apostatize. A register enumerating the residents of the Hirado-machi ward of Nagasaki made in Europe's 1642/3 listed a number of Korean women and men who had lived as Christians in Japan.⁶³ Perhaps unsurprising in a document that was prepared by the Japanese authorities to demonstrate compliance to state-sanctioned religious practices, all had since abjured their faith. The efforts of Nagasaki's governors had, over the course of the 1620s, included destruction of Christian sites under Hasegawa Gonroku and the introduction of water torture under Mizuno Kawachi. Mizuno was then replaced by Takenaka Uneme who held a distinct reputation for cruelty. The register's record of Uba, a ninety-five-year-old servant, documented that she had arrived in Nagasaki in 1621 where she became Christian. During the time of governor Takenaka, she had apostatized and become a member of the Jōdo sect, registered at the Daionji in Nagasaki.⁶⁴ Analysis

⁵⁹ Morejón, *Relacion de los martyres*, fol. 43v: "Y à su muger quemaron el rostro con candelas."

⁶⁰ Morejón, *Relacion de los martyres*, fol. 43v: "vendo huma molher os vencia, e que quanto mais a combatiam mais constante e forte a achavam."

⁶¹ Morejón, *Relacion de los martyres*, fol. 43v: "não sem grande espanto dos mesmos infiéis que claramente confessavão nunca verem tal ânimo e valor em molher."

⁶² Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 206. See also Anesaki, "Prosecution of Kirishitans After the Shimabara Insurrection"; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 337, 340.

⁶³ Hesselink, "An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki." See also on the impact of anti-Christian policy reflected in Nagasaki's registers, see Nakamura Tadashi 中村質, "Ninbetsuchō yori mita kinsei shoki no Nagasaki Hirado-machi." 人別帳よりみた近世初期の長崎平戸町 [Nagasaki's Hirado-machi in the early modern period as seen from the registers], 21–23.

⁶⁴ Yanai Kenji 箭内健次, ed., "Nagasaki Hiradomachi ninbetsuchō." 長崎平戸町人別帳 [The Kan'ei 19 Register of Hirado-machi, Nagasaki], 107: 生國高麗のもの、慶長三年ニ筑後え参。元知七年ニ長崎本興善町ニ参。則きりしたんニ罷成候へとも、竹中采女様御代ニ當町ニ而ころひ、淨土宗ニ罷成、大音寺ヲ頼申候。 See also Nakamura Tadashi 中村質, "Jinshin teiyū yamato ran no hiryonin no kiseki: Nagasaki zaijū-sha no baai." 壬辰丁酉倭亂の被虜人の軌跡-長崎在住者の場合 [The trajectory of Korean captives in the Imjin War: Focusing on Nagasaki settlers], 184–85.

of when these adherents had apostatized suggested that many, like Uba, had resisted multiple campaigns to eradicate Christian practice before they had complied, almost all under Takenaka.⁶⁵ Another entry specified that the Korean-born wife of Jinsuke had not apostatized under Governor Mizuno in the late 1620s, instead having fled to the mountains, and only later did so under Matsukura Bungo no kami in Shimabara.⁶⁶ However, by the early 1630s, all the register's remaining Korean-born residents, female and male, appeared to have determined that demonstrable conformity to state temple registration offered the best course for their future in Nagasaki.

Fatal Violence

The example of the evangelized Korean Isabel demonstrated one of the ways in which evidence of physical weakness shaped women's experience of suffering as part of their identification as Christians. Isabel was denied identification in the Christian community of martyrs, yet her survival and her later contact with Ferreira enabled her experiences to be recorded in the Society's archive. Jesuit authors recorded how Korean women as well as men desired to attest their faith by participating as martyrs.⁶⁷ Giram reported in 1620 how "a large number of Christians went to the prison to say goodbye to the imprisoned saints, congratulating them on their good fortune with great envy and desire to accompany them."⁶⁸ A literature on martyrdom circulated in Japan providing succour and practical instructions. The *Exhortations to Martyrdom* of 1615 opined that even "frail women and children, princesses and noble ladies rarely exposed to the wind" could endure martyrdom for God provided supernatural assistance to them.⁶⁹ Christian authors, however, presented different perceptions of the suitability of Korean women for martyrdom.

⁶⁵ Hesselink, "An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki," 14–15. See also the wider evidence matching this pattern drawn upon by Nagamori Mitsunobu 長森美信, "Jinshin teiyū (bunroku keichō) ran ni okeru Chōsen 'piroin' no Nippon teijū: Chōsennin kirishitan o chūshin ni." 壬辰・丁酉(文祿・慶長)乱における朝鮮被擄人の日本定住: 朝鮮人キリシタンを中心に [The settlement of Korean captives of the Imjin War in Japan with a focus on Christian Koreans], 8–9.

⁶⁶ Yanai Kenji 箭内健次, ed., "Nagasaki Hiradomachi ninbetsuchō." 長崎平戸町人別帳 [The Kan'ei 19 Register of Hirado-machi, Nagasaki], 123–24: 生國高麗之者、(文祿元年)五十一年以前二長崎今町ニ参、則きりしたんニ罷成、當町ニて水野河内様御代ニきりしたんころひ不申、山ニ入、嶋原ニて男同前ニころひ申、同宗同寺を頼申候。右之仁介切したんノころひ不山ニ入申、女房ハ高麗之者ニ而御座候故、町中吟味之上慥成請人立させ、請狀取中ニ召置候。

⁶⁷ The intense desire for martyrdom expressed by those evangelized in Japan is reported in a wide variety of mission sources. See, for example, Boxer, "The Dominican Mission in Japan," 52–60.

⁶⁸ Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 404r: "Concorreo tambien ao carcere grande numero de *christãos* a se despedir dos santos presos dando lhes os parabens de sua boa sorte come grandes enuejas e desejos de os acompanharem nella."

⁶⁹ Anesaki, "Writings on Martyrdom in Kirishitan Literature"; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 341; Ward, "Women in the Eyes of a Jesuit."

Jesuit authors recorded the strongly affective response of Korean martyrs to their fate. Giram relayed to the General the delight of Cosme Sōzaburō, who celebrated the news that he was to be burned alive, declaring

“Is it possible that God shows a great sinner like me so great and marked a mercy?” and, his eyes like fountains of tears, caused by the great joy he felt in his soul, he sang for thanksgiving *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, recited the litanies, and offered himself most willingly to his Creator.⁷⁰

A letter composed by Vicente while awaiting his execution in 1626 was recorded in a letter from Giram to the General sent from Macao in 1627. There, Vicente reflected upon his emotional state at martyrdom.

At this time of persecution, seeing the valiant martyrs fight, I was often saddened, greatly fearing and wondering whether I could suffer similar torments. However, I reflected that, if the persecution ended and the time of Christendom’s peace flourished, having lived until then [...] perhaps I would feel pain and sorrow for not having accompanied them in martyrdom and given my life for Christ our Lord at so good a time.⁷¹

Another Korean adherent, Gayo, also met his fate, “unable to repress the jubilation and joy that he felt, as he knew how to write in Chinese and Japanese characters, composed and wrote a distich about how happy he was to see himself so close to the kingdom of paradise that he had so long longed for.”⁷² Indeed, Giram’s narrative emphasized in multiple ways the subordination of “good Gayo our *dojuku*” to the European missionaries. Over the course of his account, he described the adherent and soon-to-be martyr as “the good Korean,” “despicable in the eyes of the gentiles,” reiterating elsewhere that Gayo was “a Korean, quite despised in the eyes of the world.”⁷³ This account also evoked the tightknit nature of the Korean community that Gayo was leaving and the importance of the spiritual succour that those to be executed were able to draw from it in their final days: “there came to visit him at that time his old householder, a Korean like himself,

70 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 402r: “he possível diz, *que* ahum tão grande peccador como eu faz *Deos* tão grande e assinalada merce? E *com* os olhos feitos fontes de lagrimas, causadas da grande alegria, *que* em sua alma sentia cantou in *gratium actionem* o *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, rezou as ladainhas e se offereceo muy liberalmente a seu criador.”

71 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 104v: “Neste tempo do perseguição uendo pelejar aos Valerosos martyres muitas *Veze*s me intristeçia, temedo muito e duuidando se poderia eu sofrer semelhantes tormentos; Porem, lembraume *que* se acabasse a perseguição, e tornasse o tempo florente da paz da *Christandade*, tendo eu Vida té então, acordandome do tempo em que ouue os santos martyres *por* uentura teria dor e sentimento polos não ter acompanhado no martírio e dado a Vida por *Christo N Senhor em* tão bom tempo.”

72 Macao, March 15, 1626, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 15r: “não podendo reprimir o jubilo e alegria *que com* elle sentia, como sabia os caracteres da China e Japão, compos e escreveo nelles hum distico, cujo sentido era: quancto se alegrava por se ver ja tão perto do Reino do Paraiso que tanto dantes dezejara.”

73 ARSI, JapSin 61, fols. 15v, 14v, 15v, 16r: “bom Gayo nosso *dojuco*,” “bom Corea pessoa,” “despreziuel nos olhos does gentios,” “hum Corea denação assaz despreziuel nos olhos dos homens.”

who found him very happy at the good luck that befell him.”⁷⁴ Gayo asked him, “now that he was at life’s end, to commend and have his friends commend him to God our Lord, that he might give him strength and courage to die for his love and his glory cheerfully and with constancy.”⁷⁵ Even in these celebratory accounts, Christian was never the only identity by which these authors perceived Korean martyrs.

Christian was also only one identity by which Japanese authorities understood adherents, it seems. As their fate was documented by Christian authors, women, especially as wives, appeared to be much less of a concern to the Japanese than their male counterparts.⁷⁶ In 1620, Giram reported how the Korean Arizō Pedro was beheaded for his faith while “his wife who was also a very good Christian, wanted to accompany her husband, but they merely threw her out of the house in only the dress she was wearing.”⁷⁷ This was similar to the outcome for the wife of the Korean Akashi Jiemon Cayo, investigated for harbouring Christians in their home. She endured the threats and torture of the authorities “with great spirit and courage,” following “the example of her good husband Cayo.”⁷⁸ Yet, while Cayo was eventually executed, she was entrusted to people of the neighbourhood, who were expected to account for her behaviour.⁷⁹ In 1626, Giram reported on the fate of fourteen Christians who had been brought from Uto and moved across prisons before they were executed. “Among the fourteen who came from Uto there was a girl whom some pagans asked to have, and so she was left without the crown of martyrdom.”⁸⁰

The gender ideologies and patriarchal social structures of Japan determined how the faith of women was perceived, and thus treated in official investigations. The anti-Christian text, the *Kirishitan Monogatari*, suggested that as “women are very easily

74 ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 15r: “neste tempo visitar o seu caseiro antigo Coreia como elle, e achou contentissimo pola boa sorte que lhe cabia.”

75 ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 15r: “pediolhe, *que* ja que aquelle era o fim de sua vida, o encomendase e fezesse encommendar aos amigos a Deos nosso *Senhor* pedindo lhe desse forcas e animo pera alegre e constatemente a dar por seu amor a gloria.”

76 Compare to the Late Joseon dynasty *Kihae* persecutions, in Europe’s early nineteenth century, during which, Andrew Finch argues, the Confucian emphasis on the three special bonds shaped a pattern of arrests among inter-generational family groups. Finch, “The Pursuit of Martyrdom,” 107. A notable number of those executed in these events were women, see Rausch, “Choosing to Die,” 87–111.

77 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 418r–v: “A molher *que* tambem he muito boa christãa desejou de acompanhar a seu marido, mas não lhe fizerão mais *que* botala fora de casa com hum só vestido singelo.”

78 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 112r: “Mas ella com muita animo e valor,” “a exemplo de seu bom marido Gaio.”

79 Macao, March 31, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 63, fol. 75v, cited in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 318. I have not been able to locate this in the original text.

80 Macao, March 15, 1626, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 59r: “entre os quatorze que vierão de Uto, vinha huma menina, a qual certos gentios pedirão, e alcansarão, e assi ficou sem a coroa do martirio.”

cheated," they were easy targets of the Christian missionaries.⁸¹ At the same time, men were deemed head of their households, and responsible for actions within it.⁸² Ensuring their conformity was thus a particular focus of state-based violence. While in hiding in Japan, the Franciscan Diego de San Francisco reported in November 1629 that only men, as heads of household, were being sought to recant in Nagasaki.⁸³ He expressed ideas about women's pliability and dependency on male leadership and support to maintain their faith, concluding that after the apostasy of male heads of household, their wives, children, and servants would lose faith thereafter. The example of Isabel, however, who rejected both the example and the authority of her husband to determine her own faith, suggests that women thought otherwise. Authorities could not offer female adherents the kinds of enticements of positions of status, with which they tempted men to abjure. Giovanni Battista Zola described, for example, how authorities offered the Korean *dojuku* Vicente a position in "the *tono's* service, if he would be a pagan and not a Christian, and they worked very hard to get him to renounce his faith."⁸⁴

Rare then was the evangelized Korean woman who was executed in Japan for her faith. One was Catalina, the wife of fellow Korean Kuzaemon Sixto, from Uto, who was imprisoned with her husband and other Christian women and men. They were both beheaded in 1624.⁸⁵ However, many more were unable to share this final act of inclusion in the Christian community. The desire of Korean women to die for their faith was noted by several Jesuit authors. Francisco Colín described Pak Marina shouting in the streets of Miyako, that "she remained firm and constant in the faith of Jesus Christ, for whom she was prepared to die."⁸⁶ Mateo de Couros reported the Korean adherent Julia's intense desire to be "able to sacrifice her life to Our Lord by the way of martyrdom."⁸⁷ She had to be comforted by a Christian companion

81 Translated in Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 339.

82 Wakita, "Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan"; Wakita, "The Medieval Household and Gender Roles"; Goto, "The Lives and Roles of Women"; Berry and Yonemoto, eds, *What is a Family?*

83 Boxer, *The Christian Century*, 352.

84 Zola's account is relayed in Giram's letter to Vitelleschi, Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 103r-v: "Tinhão os Governadores notícia *que* Vicente era bom escrivão, e sabia asletras sinicas desejaramno *pera* oseruico do tono mas gentio e não *christão* e trabalharão muito *pera* o fazerem retroceder na fé."

85 Macao, March 15, 1626, ARSI 61, fol. 59r: "Cnª sua molher *tambem* corea." See also Ruiz-de-Medina, *El martirologio del Japón*, 531, no. 0737. On evangelized Korean martyrs, see Nagamori Mitsunobu 長森美信, "Jinshin teiyū (bunroku keichō) ran ni okeru Chōsen 'piroin' no Nippon teijū: Chōsennin kirishitan o chūshin ni." 壬辰・丁酉(文祿・慶長)乱における朝鮮被擄人の日本定住: 朝鮮人キリシタンを中心に [The settlement of Korean captives of the Imjin War in Japan with a focus on Christian Koreans], from 8.

86 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:504: "que boluia firmer, y constante en la Fé de Iesu Christo, por quien deseaua morir."

87 Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 245r: "e *que* perdia quasi as esperanças de poder sacrificar sua uida a N.S. por uia do martyrio."

that to be exiled for the faith was also a type of prolonged martyrdom, and that dying there she would remain a kind of martyr, and as proof of this, the Church celebrates the feast of many martyrs who died in exile for the faith without shedding their blood by the sword. This pleased her so much that, showing an unusual pleasure, she immediately wrote her thanks to the Father who, through this Christian, had brought her such happy news.⁸⁸

Being unable to become a martyr, publicly witnessing their participation in the Christian community in this way, was, it seems, another kind of suffering for their faith that evangelized Korean women had to endure.

Giram celebrated the martyrdom of a series of Korean and Japanese men while observing that “those who showed the most marked desires to accompany these servants of God to their deaths were their wives.”⁸⁹ His report on the actions of Christian wives of prisoners preparing for execution voiced the lament of these women who,

with tears in their eyes, declared the sorrow they had not to be participants of the same fate, because they had hoped and wanted to sacrifice their lives and those of their children to the Lord God, and seeing themselves now frustrated of that and of the crown that they were so close to holding in their hands, they had no words to declare the sorrow of their souls. The imprisoned saints desired no less to take their wives and children with them for the sacrifice to be more perfect, but since martyrdom was denied them, they consoled them by promising them to intercede for them in heaven, commending them to persevere in faith and keeping the law of God.⁹⁰

Jesuit accounts reported Christian women’s desires to attest to their faith by martyrdom, but they made sense of the experiences of evangelized women and men in Japan in terms of local gender ideologies in which women’s spiritual commitments were perceived as far less dangerous to authorities than those of men, Korean or Japanese. The Jesuit archive did attest to women’s persistence, however. In 1623, Giram was able to report to the General how a series of executions in Nagasaki the previous year included

88 ARSI, JapSin 57, fols. 245r–v: “odesterro polla fé era tambem hum genero de martyrio prolongado, e que morrendo lá, ficaria verdadeira Martyr, e em proua disso *que* a Igreja celebraua a festa de *multos* martyres que morreram no degredo polla fé sem uerterem sangue a ferro. Agradoulhe tanto isto *que* mostrando *hum* desusado prazer, escreueo logo dali os agradecimentos ao *padre* que por Via do Christão lhe fizera dar tam alegre noua.”

89 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C–286, fol. 404v: “os que mais se assinalarão e mostrarão mais viuos desejos de acompanhar na morte os servos de *Deos* forão suas molheres.”

90 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C–286, fol. 404v: “com as lagrimas nos olhos declarauão o sentimento *que* lhes ficava de não serem participantes da mesma sorte; *porque* como ja dantes estavam *com* speranças e desejos de sacrificarem a *Deos* N. *Senhor* suas vidas e de seus filhos, vendose agora frustrados do comprimento dellas, e *que* se lhes hia dante as mãos a coroa de *que* tam perto estauão, não tinham palauras *com que* declarar o sentimento de suas almas. Não desejavão menos os santos presos de as leuar comsigo a ellas, e a seus filhos pera o sacrificio ficar mais perfeito, mas ja que o martyrio lhes faltaua a ellas as consolauão com a intercessão *que* no ceo lhes prometião encommendandolhes juntamente a perseuerança na fee e na guarda da ley de *Deos*.”

the wives and sons of the four housekeepers of the religious who three years ago were burned to death in this place, these and the others dressed festively, and most particularly the holy wives, all of whom were so happy and merry.⁹¹

This included the Korean Christian Takeya Inés, the widow of Cosme, martyred in 1620.⁹² Unsurprisingly, the Christian archive recorded Korean women's joy at martyrdom in spiritual terms, but being left a widow in a rapidly diminishing evangelized community, Korean or otherwise, in Japan must have seemed a daunting prospect.

The low level of danger that evangelized women appeared to pose for Japanese society in the eyes of officials, at least as their experiences were reported by Jesuit authors, appeared to have a parallel in the perception of men living with impairments. Giram recounted the efforts of the convert Manoel from Suruga in 1614, the son of Korean-born parents, to remain in gaol with other prisoners, a sign of his commitment to his Christian faith. So determined was he, Giram reported, that when his mother, who did not share his faith, came to seek him, Manoel "hid inside the prison without wanting to see her."⁹³ However, he, like Isabel and Marta, was thwarted in his plans. His mother "made a petition to the governor, who, knowing that he was deaf and dumb by birth, ordered him released, saying that the law of the Lord of *Tenka* did not include that sort of people."⁹⁴

Finally, the Jesuit archive also embedded evidence of the competing pressures on Koreans in Japan, evangelized or otherwise, that involved them in inflicting fatal violence on others in their communities. The Jesuit Jerónimo Rodrigues recounted the experience of an enslaved Korean "girl" in the household of a Christian family, who was termed by the man in whose household she lived as "his captive." She had reported her master as a Christian to the authorities "to free herself from some years of service she was bound to."⁹⁵ This would result in the death of Japanese Father Sebastián Kimura, Antonio Korea his housekeeper, his wife Dominica, and their two young children

91 Macao, March 15, 1623, ARSI, JapSin 60, fol. 16r: "Chegarão tambem as mulheres e filhos dos quatro caseiros dos religiosos, *que* ha tres annos morrerão assados viuos nodito lugar, huns e outros uestidos de festa, e *muito* mais particularmente as santas mulheres, todos tam alegres, e prazenteiros."

92 On Inés, see Nagamori Mitsunobu 長森美信, "Jinshin teiyū (bunroku keichō) ran ni okeru Chōsen 'piroin' no Nippon teijū: Chōsennin kirishitan o chūshin ni." 壬辰・丁酉(文禄・慶長)乱における朝鮮被擄人の日本定住: 朝鮮人キリシタンを中心に [The settlement of Korean captives of the Imjin War in Japan with a focus on Christian Koreans], 10.

93 ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 402v: "mas elle se escondo no mais interior do carcere sem aquerer ver."

94 ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 402v: "fez huma petiçam ao Governador, *que* sabendo como era surdo e mudo de nacimiento, o mandou soltar, dizendo *que* a ley do *senhor* da Tenca não comprehendia aquella sorte de gente."

95 Macao, October 4, 1622, ARSI, JapSin 59, fol. 328v: "la moça era sua captiva," "foi malsinado de huna esclava do caseiro que ter da emcasa, coria de nacão, [...] por se livrar do serviço aque estava por algui annos obrigaada."

baptized Juan and Pedro.⁹⁶ An account of the subsequent execution of the five-year-old Pedro in 1609 observed that Japanese soldiers were uncomfortable with the execution of a child, recording that because it was an “injustice of the tyrant, a foreigner from the kingdom of Korea executed him.”⁹⁷ Francesco Pasio reported of the same event how “a Korean servant whose heart was suffering, it seems, to see the boy waiting so long, took the *katana* [sword] but moved by compassion, it seems, he was so perturbed that the blow missed his neck, hitting him instead on the shoulders.”⁹⁸ Through their varied positions and status within Japanese society, Koreans in Japan could thus become part of state violence upon Christians.

Conclusions

Evangelized Korean women and men were both subject to varied forms of violence in Japan, some of which ultimately caused their deaths. This violence was perceived as distinct and different for Korean women and men, as victims, survivors, and witnesses. Christian authors saw new forms of agency in women’s responses to violence. Some claimed that, given the opportunity to suffer for their faith, women’s ordinarily weak and vulnerable bodies became supernaturally invincible. For others, suffering a martyr’s death became the ultimate form of belonging to the Christian community, experiences that the Christian archive suggested Korean women craved just as much as did Korean men and Japanese women. The realities of what remained for them in Japan might have heightened their desire for this outcome. Violence inflicted on evangelized Korean women, therefore, could be understood as not only spiritually, but also personally, productive both for its victims and for those who beheld it. Although the political assumptions of Japan’s authorities denied many evangelized Korean women the autonomy to determine their own forms of belonging by dying for their faith, knowledge makers and circulators in the region incorporated the experiences of many into the Christian archive, as part of the history of this turbulent period.

96 The fate of the Korean Antonio and Kimura Sebastián are explored in Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, 192ff.

97 Marco Ferrarao, Macao, 1614, ARSI, JapSin 16, fol. 113v: “l’executione della ingiustitia del tirano, l’executo un alienigena del regno di Corai.”

98 Nagasaki, February 20, 1609, ARSI, JapSin 56, fol. 391r–v: “un moço de seruicio Coria de nacion parecer que nolesufriendo el coraçon ver estar el niño esperando tanto tiempo, puso mano ala catana, mas mouido decom passion, aloque parece, seperturbo de manera que erando elgolpe d’espescueço ledio por los hombros.”

Chapter 4

MOBILITY



Map 4.1. Key locations in the wider East Asian region where evangelizing activities involving Koreans were documented in Europe's seventeenth century. Map created by the author from the Open Historical Map Project (openhistoricalmap.org).

FOLLOWING THE JAPANESE invasions, contemporary documentation records the movement of both Korean women and men beyond the borders of the Joseon kingdom. The fifty-three-year-old wife of Kawasakiya Suke'emon no Jō, born in Korea, came to Japan in 1599 as a nine- or ten-year-old. Eleven years later she was in Nagasaki where she was sold as part of the slave trade to Macao. It was there that she became a Christian. Five years later, she returned to Nagasaki where she remained at the period in which she documented her experiences for the ward register of the local Japanese authorities.¹ Another Korean-born individual, the Portuguese-speaking “Gaspar of Korea,” baptized at Nagasaki, was sold at thirteen and later sold again in Manila to a Portuguese trader.² Antonio, purchased at Nagasaki, travelled with the Florentine merchant Francesco Carletti, to Goa and eventually to Rome, carrying with him for at least part of the journey two copper images of a crucified Christ and an Ecce Homo.³ These individuals formed part of a largely untraceable diaspora of Koreans, only some of whom were evangelized. This chapter explores how gender shaped evangelized Koreans’ mobility, primarily in the Asian region, as Christians. What opportunities did their faith afford them to move in the region? How was this agency shaped, as it was narrated in the Christian archive, by assumptions and realities of their differently gendered bodies, and their capacity for knowledge, for communication, and for attracting violence? As Christianity came to be progressively repressed in Japan under successive leaders, how did it shape the prospects of evangelized Korean women and men to live their beliefs? Christian authors, as analysed in [Chapter 2](#), had documented the different ways Korean women and men had been involved in evangelizing among their social networks in Japan. This chapter explores how the Christian archive adopted or adapted these into mission strategies as evangelized Koreans moved in the region.

1 Yanai Kenji 箭内健次, ed., “Nagasaki Hiradomachi ninbetsuchō.” 長崎平戸町人別帳 [The Kan’ei 19 Register of Hirado-machi, Nagasaki], 90: 生國高麗のもの、慶長四年肥後八代ニ参、同拾六年ニ長崎ニ参、則(マカオ)天川へ被賣渡きりしたんニ罷成、元和二年ニ帰宅仕、外浦町ニ参、竹中采女様御代ニ同町ニ而ころひ、一向宗ニ罷成、大光寺ヲ頼申候。 See also Nakamura Tadashi 中村實, “Jinshin teiyū yamato ran no hiryonin no kiseki: Nagasaki zaijū-sha no baai.” 壬辰丁酉倭亂の被虜人の軌跡-長崎在住者の場合 [The trajectory of Korean captives in the Imjin War: Focusing on Nagasaki settlers], 179.

2 June 19, 1597. The case is outlined by Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 128, who cites Archivo General de la Nación, Inquisición, vol. 237, fols. 458v–459.

3 Carletti, *Ragionamenti*, 324. See Schrader, Stephanie, and Jessie Park, “Gukgyeongeul neomeo, saeroun gyeonggyereul geurimyeo rubenseu hanbong ibeun namjai maengnakjeong gochal.” 국경을 넘어, 새로운 경계를 그리며 루벤스 한복 입은 남자의 맥락적 고찰 [Crossing borders, drawing boundaries contextualizing Rubens’s man in Korean costume] and Weststein and Gesterkamp, “A New Identity for Rubens’s ‘Korean Man.’”

Men, Mobility, and Missions to Joseon

Within a decade of the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Joseon in 1598, diplomatic communications between their respective leaders had been reinstated.⁴ These exchanges brought elite and educated men to Japan on behalf of the Joseon king and suggested to Jesuit writers a new opportunity for interaction with the people of this kingdom and others beyond. In March 1606, for example, the Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues Giram observed to the General of the Order, Claudio Acquaviva, “when an ambassador of the king of Korea came this year to Japan he was accompanied by a monk, a great scholar of the sects of China which are almost the same as those of Japan.”⁵ Buddhist monks had provided an important communication network through the East Asian region as well as produced converts to Christianity, such as the Korean Gayo. Giram reported how his colleagues had sought to use intellectual pathways to open a conduit to wider communication, sending the monk participating in the diplomatic mission a critical analysis of local religions. Giram claimed that the “Korean scholar was amazed by what he read and, very much praising the style and eloquence, and even more so the depth of thought, replied that he never thought that in Japan was a person who knew so much of the sects.”⁶ Moreover, according to Giram, he concurred with the Society’s conclusions, “sending this reply in writing to the Brother, which was shown to many others, a great service in bringing down the monks and uncovering their tricks.”⁷ These intellectual manoeuvres offered optimism that demonstrations of learning and careful argumentation presented to educated Korean men could create for the Jesuits a path to further Christian conversions in Joseon and perhaps beyond.

At the same time, Giram’s report suggested a more substantial pathway to Joseon, at least numerically.⁸ This was the repatriation of Koreans, supported by Joseon

⁴ See Toby, *State and Diplomacy*; Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*; Lee, “Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea”; Tashiro, “Japanese–Korean Relations During the Tokugawa Period.”

⁵ Nagasaki, March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 278r: “hum embaxador del Rey da Corea, trouxe em sua Companhia hum bonzo grande letrado nas seitas da China que são quasi as mesmas que as de Japam.”

⁶ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 278r: “Ficou Coreia letrado parmado do que leo e louando muyto o estillo e eloquentia e muyto mays a profundeza das cousas, respondeo *que* elle nunca cuidara que em japam ouuesse pessoa *que* tanto alcançasse do amego das Seitas.”

⁷ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 278r: “mandando ao Irmao esta riposta por escrito, aqual mostrada a outrosi muitos servio grandement pera sicarem abatidas as cousas dos bonzos e descubertos seusingenos.”

⁸ The numbers are debated, but may have been less than ten thousand individuals, see Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 94. On the volume of repatriations, see Son Seungcheol 孫承喆 / 손승철, “17segi yasojongmune daehan Joseonui insikgwa daeung.” 17세기 耶蘇宗門에 대한 朝鮮의 인식과 대응 [Joseon’s awareness and response to the Yaso sect in the seventeenth century].

diplomatic missions that encouraged those from the kingdom to return home. Among those returning were, suggested Jesuit authors, evangelized Christians.⁹ Whether evangelized women were in a position to return home in the same numbers as their menfolk, however, is doubtful. Kim Moon-Ja has examined the different opportunities and contexts in which Korean women and men could participate in repatriation endeavours.¹⁰ Gender ideologies shaped women's opportunities to return to their homelands, which were limited by both practical and conceptual challenges, including the sexual and reproductive employment of their bodies since arriving in Japan.¹¹ The neo-Confucian moral codes that underpinned Joseon society placed a high value on women's chastity, and contemporary texts celebrated women who chose death rather than surviving sexual violation.¹² Repatriating women who had been captured in the

9 On repatriation experiences, see Choi Gwan 최관, *Ilbonwa imjinwaeran* 일본과 임진왜란 [Japan and the Imjin War], 103–28; Min, Deak-Kee 민덕기, “Imjinwaeran napchidoen joseoninui gwihwangwa jallyuroi gil.” 임진왜란에 납치된 조선인의 귀환과 잔류로의 길 [The Korean captives during the Imjin War: Repatriation to Korea and settlement in Japan]; Yonetani Hitoshi 米谷均, “Senshinryakugo ni okeru hiriyonin no hongoku sōkan ni tsuite.” 鮮侵略後における被虜人の本国送還について [Repatriation of POWS after the Invasion of Korea], in *Jinshin sensō: jūrokuseiki nitchōchū no kokusai sensō* 壬辰戦争: 16世紀日・朝・中の国際戦争 [Imjin war: international war of Japan–Korea–China in the sixteenth century], ed. Chung, Doo Hee 鄭杜熙 / 정두희, and Gyeong-Soon Lee 李璿珣 / 이경순, 103–28. My focus here is upon the claims of Christian authors regarding Koreans who were said to be carrying Catholicism to the Joseon kingdom. The reality of whether this occurred has been debated. Son Seungcheol observes an absence of discussion of Catholicism in Joseon records before 1638, see “17세기 yasojongmune daehan Joseonui insikgwadaeung.” 17세기 耶蘇宗門에 대한 朝鮮의 인식과 대응 [Joseon's awareness and response to the Yaso sect in the seventeenth century], 864–65. Pierre-Emmanuel Roux argues, however, that the diplomatic channel opened between Joseon and Japan at this time provided awareness of Christianity, indeed that “the Catholic issue became a significant vehicle in the enhancement of diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan in the aftermath of the Imjin War” in “The Prohibited Sect of Yaso,” 119–21, here 120.

10 Kim Moon-Ja 金文子 / 김문자, “Bunroku keichō no eki ni okeru Chōsen hiriyonin no kikan tokuni josei no baai.” 文禄・慶長の役における朝鮮被虜人の帰還とくに女性の場合 [The return of Korean captives in the Imjin war: With a focus on women]. In *Onna no shakaishi: 17-20-seiki “ie” to jendā o kangaeru* 女の社会史: 17-20世紀: 「家」とジェンダーを考える [A social history of women from the seventeenth to twentieth century: Focusing on home and gender], edited by Ōguchi, Yūjirō 大口勇次郎, 212–21.

11 No Sung Hwan, for example, documents Korean-born women who remained in Japan as concubines of the local lord. No Sung Hwan 魯成煥 / 노성환, “Ilbon sikoku jiyeogui imnanporoe gwanhan ilgochal gagawa, dokusima, gochi jiyeoguel jungsimeuro.” 일본 시코쿠 지역의 임란포로에 관한 일고찰 가가와, 도쿠시마, 고치 지역을 중심으로 [A study of the Korean captives during the Japanese invasion of Korea in Shikoku, Japan], 203–5, 212–13.

12 Park, Joo 박주, “Dongguk sinsok samgang haengsildo’ yeollyeo yeodoui bunseok.” 東國新續三綱行實圖 烈女圖의 分析 [A study of *Dongguk Sinsok Samgang Haengsildo's* virtuous women]; Pettid, “Devoted Wives and Chaste Maidens;”; Lee, Sook-in 이숙인, “The Imjin War and the Official Discourse of Chastity”; Lee, Sook-in 이숙인, “Joseonjunggi sahoeui yeoseonginsik: jeonggeol gaenyeomeul jungsimeuro.” 조선전기 사회의 여성인식: 정절 개념을 중심으로 [The understanding of women in the middle Joseon period: A focus on the conception of chastity].

invasions to Joseon therefore presented considerable problems beyond the matter of their faith alone.

By contrast, some evangelized men were perceived to present opportunities for mission work. Giram described how “an honourable Christian Korean by birth, who with many others went from Japan to Korea in the company of an ambassador who had come from Korea to Japan” secured a copy of the catechism from a *Kirishitan*, “written in the Chinese language and characters.”¹³ After copying it, he said “that with this he could preach the law of the Christians in Korea, since for now he could not take a Father, as much as he wished to.”¹⁴ As had Jesuit authors upon the arrival of captive Koreans in Japan, these examples once again emphasized the importance of texts, Chinese characters, and male intellectual pathways as a conduit to Christian conversion in the region. Through such means, western knowledge broadly may have made some impact in Joseon at this time. Writing in Europe’s late eighteenth century, the Joseon scholar An Cheong-bok, who was no friend to Catholicism, reflected that western scholarship was known in the Joseon kingdom from the period after the invasions.

There is neither a high official nor an eminent scholar who did not read them. These books are considered in the same way as the writings of classical thinkers, Daoism and Buddhism, and they are kept as ornaments of libraries.¹⁵

During this period, the leadership of Joseon also gained a growing awareness of Christianity more particularly from the communications of their reinstated diplomatic partners in Japan, for Japanese letters regularly provided warnings of the dangers of what was termed “the sect of Yaso.”¹⁶ Pierre-Emmanuel Roux has argued that Japanese diplomatic strategy employed Christianity as a common foreign foe against which both it and the Joseon kingdom could unite.¹⁷ Knowledge of Christianity therefore entered Joseon at this time within two very different, and oppositional, frameworks.

In the second decade of Europe’s seventeenth century, Francesco Boldrino took up the mantle as a vocal and insistent advocate within the Society for a dedicated mission to a series of regional territories that had not as yet been contacted directly by the Jesuits, including the Joseon kingdom. Boldrino knew the evangelized Korean community from his time in Japan and perhaps also in his new position at the College of São Paulo in Macao, near what may have been a Korean enclave there.¹⁸ In 1612,

13 Nagasaki, March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 246r: “em que umha hum Christão honrado Corea de naçam, o qual com muitos outros se tornava de Japão pera a Corea em companhia de hum embaixador que dadita Corea viera a este Japam,” “da China escrito em lingua e caracteres chinas.”

14 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 246r: “dizendo que come ella auia de pregarna Corea a ley dos Christãos, ja que por agora não podia leuar hum Padre que deseiou muito de leuar.”

15 Cited in Roux, “The Catholic Experience of Chosŏn Envoys in Beijing,” 29: 西洋書，自宣廟末年，已來于東。名卿碩儒，無人不見。視之如諸子道佛之屬，以備書室之。

16 Roux, “The Prohibited Sect of Yaso,” 123–24.

17 Roux, “The Prohibited Sect of Yaso,” 123–24.

18 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 128. On the College and its relation to the Society’s Japanese and Chinese missions, see Tang, *Setting Off From Macau*, 31–33, 96–97.

he presented a moral argument to the General of the Order, Acquaviva, that since the Gospel was not known there, it was “necessary and a matter of scruple to go and sow the Gospel.”¹⁹ In December 1614, Boldrino again addressed the General from Macao, reminding him in a postscript addition: “Last year I proposed to Your Paternity to make some new missions again to Korea [...] into which news of the Christian faith has not yet penetrated.”²⁰ He deftly alluded to the failures of epistolary communication as a reason to renew his request: “I am proposing the same again now, in case last year’s letter did not arrive,” insisting upon his devotion to do “everything possible to open up knowledge to these people.”²¹ By the end of 1617, it was to a new General, Muzio Vitelleschi, that Boldrino, now again in Japan, made his pitch, recapitulating his previous communications with Vitelleschi’s predecessor: “I wrote these last years to our Father Claudio Acquaviva that it would be of great service to God to open new missions, such as to Korea.”²² He voiced fears that lack of funds might preclude what could be done “if there were zeal and fervour.” Sophisticated in his rhetorical address to his recipient, Boldrino escalated his appeal to an even higher temporal authority: “the Pope ought to help with what is needed since the Gospel has never been sown in these abovementioned places.”²³

By contrast, Giacomo Antonio Giannone, a former colleague of Boldrino at the College of São Paulo, pitched his argument in 1616 to Francesco Pavone, an enthusiastic supporter of the Society’s global mission work who was responsible for the development of robust training at the Jesuit College in Naples. Giannone noted the recent successes for the Society in Cochinchina under the leadership of Francesco Buzomi.²⁴ Like his compatriots, he identified the lack of funds as a key stumbling block; but he also suggested that cultural and racial similarities between the populations of Korea, the Ryukyu islands and mainland Japan warranted their prioritization, as they were “all white people and of good understanding, like the Japanese.”²⁵ Another compatriot, Francesco Eugenio, wrote in December 1617 from Nagasaki, to the General, reprising many of the arguments that had built the case for a dedicated Korean mission in the Jesuit archive over what was now an almost fifty-year period:

19 Macao, December 30, 1612, ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 133v: “l’euangelio ne ha notitia nessuna di quelle [...] se e necessario e materia de scrupulo ne andarla a seminare l’euangelio.”

20 Macao, December 26, 1614, ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 138v: “l’anno passato propose a VP che se potriano fare alcune missioni di nouo alla Corea [...] as quais partes in sino hora non penetro la notitia della fede christianiana.”

21 ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 138v: “il medesimo torno a proporre adesso se peruentura la lettera del anno passato, non arrivo,” “tutto il possibile per aprire il cosciento a questi genti.”

22 Japan, November 9, 1617, ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 144v: “lescritti l’anni passati al nostro padre Claudio Acquaviva che seria di grande seruitio di dio aprire alcune missioni noue come alla Corea.”

23 ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 144v: “se havesse fervor e zelo e il papa deu socorrere con il necessario pois che in queste parti sossadette gia mai fu seminato levangelio.”

24 Macao, January 24, 1616, ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 203r.

25 ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 203r: “toda gente bianca, e di bello intendimento, come sono li giaponi.”

Your Paternity will know that Korea is a kingdom close to Japan, so much so that sailing with good wind it is reached in two days. It is a much larger kingdom than Japan, subject to only one king. The people are of very good understanding and disposition to understand our holy Law, as we find here with the Korean Christians (of whom there are very many in Japan among those who were captured in the war these past years). [...] Therefore, if you make a mission to Korea, the fruit will be great. And now in this province, there is no shortage of Fathers, of whom masses have been driven out of Japan, and from China, unemployed in Macao, and while the devil seeks to lock the door in some parts, it would not be bad to go uncover other paths. From Japan, as I say, it seems you could get there by boat going to trade, as they usually do. In the future it seems they will go even more, because this year they have sent an embassy from Korea to renew friendship with the lord of Japan.²⁶

Eugenio, like others before him, wanted to be tasked with the mission himself: "If the Lord brings me to Macao, I will propose this to the Father Visitor and also offer myself for the work."²⁷ The Society, however, had other plans for Eugenio and his Korean mission faded from view after he left Japan at the end of 1617.

Evangelized Korean men, as well as Society men, were critical to a mission planned for the Joseon kingdom in 1612. João Rodrigues Giram later recounted the involvement of the Korean Vicente as a *dōjuku* working with Giovanni Battista Zola at that time: "The superiors, desiring to open the doors in the kingdom of Korea to the Holy Gospel, decided to send him there with a priest. It was not possible, however much they did, to open it up via Japan."²⁸ By the 1610s, the punishment of Christians had taken on a more urgent rhythm. A letter from the Provincial, Francisco Pacheco, to the General, Vitelleschi, in November 1625, endorsed by eight colleagues, tried to make clear to their Roman recipients the challenges that they currently faced simply in maintaining their activities in the hostile environment of Japan alone without those "around Japan,

26 Nagasaki, December 12, 1617, ARSI, JapSin 17, fol. 112: "V.P. saprà, che il Cōrai é un regno uicino al Giappone, tanto che nauigando com bom uento vi giungono en doi giorni é regno molto maggiore del Giappone, soggetto ad'un Ré solamente. la gente é di molto buono intendimento, e disposizione per intendere le cose della nostra S. legge, come qui sperimentiamo nelli Cōraijin Cristiani (de quali ui sono moltissimi nel Giappone, di quelli che furono cattiuati nella guerra de gli anni passati). [...] Per il che si se facere alcuna mission al Corai, per che saria grande il frutto. e adesso a questa provincia non mancano Padri, de quali mole scacciati del Giappone, e dalla cina stanno disoccupati in Macao e gia che il demonio procura rerrare la porta in diuersi parti, non saria male andar discoporendo altri camini. Dal Giappone, come dico, pare che si ui potrà entrare, con alcuna occasione d'imbarcatione che la ua a mercanteggiare, como di ordinario uanno, e per l'auenire pare, che u'anderanno piu, per ché questo anno hanno del Corai mandato un'imbasciatore per rinouare l'amicitia con il signore del Giappone."

27 ARSI, JapSin 17, fol. 112: "Se Il Signore me leuar a Macao, proporrei questo al P. Visitatore et anche m'offerrei a ciò."

28 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 122v: "Desjando os superiores de abrir porta no Reino da Corea ao sagrado evangelion, o determinarão pera ir lá *come hum padre*. Não foi possiuel, *por* mais que se fez, *abrilla por* uia de japão."

Ryūkyū, Korea and Ezo, missions that Your Paternity so highly recommends.”²⁹ The small number of Jesuits who remained in Japan to operationalize new missionary endeavours was reduced further when in 1626 even more members of the Society were put to death, including both Pacheco and Vicente.³⁰ Pedro Morejón, writing from Macao in 1627, lamented that all these efforts to reach Joseon had thus far been in vain, and that “people of great ability and intelligence, gentle, docile and of natural beauty,” should remain “so closed to all commerce with foreigners that no matter how many steps have been take to enter, it has not been possible.”³¹ The claimed docility and good natured disposition of the Koreans towards Christianity that made the Joseon kingdom such an attractive target for future mission activities shaped not only Jesuit accounts; in 1659, the Franciscan Antonio de Santa Maria similarly identified these as reason to mount a dedicated Franciscan mission for Koreans.³²

Whilst the Society’s men in the region negotiated their own capacity to commit a dedicated mission, the reports to be found in the Jesuit archive explicitly foregrounded the possible role of Korean men as prized mediators of Christian missionary activities to the Joseon kingdom. Morejón reflected in 1627 on an earlier time when the Society men had considered a direct mission to Joseon and “the Fathers made great efforts to go to Korea, taking our Vicente and another for guides and interpreters, but [...] it was impossible.”³³ Another Korean man who seemed to offer such a possibility was Tomás upon whose activities Jesuit authors were keeping a close eye. Mateo de Couros wrote to the General in October 1618 of the man “whom we brought up and supported for many years in our house.” “He is of noble birth, and having received news of him, his father, last year when the King of Korea sent an embassy to the King of Japan, asked the ambassadors to find the means to bring his son back with them.”³⁴ However, Tomás was, by then, in Manila. Further, Tomás was perceived by more than

29 Nagasaki, November 16, 1625, ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 161r: “Tenos ao redor de Japão Lioquo Corai e Yezo missões que V.P. tanto encomienda.”

30 Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 127.

31 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462r: “gente de grande capacidad y ingenio, blados, dociles, y de lindos naturales, mas tan cerrados a todo comercio de estrangeros que por mas diligencias que se an echo para entrar en el no ha sido possible.”

32 March 6, 1659, Van den Wyngaert, ed., *Sinica Franciscana*, 2:453: “Aspiraban a pasarse al reino de la Corea por tener noticia cuan buen natural tienen los Coreanos y cuan dociles paracen para ser instruidos en la santa ley de Dios, nuestro Señor.”

33 BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 463v: “hizieron los padres grandes diligencias por passar a la Corea o Corai llevando a nuestro Vicente y otro por guias e interpretes, pero [...] fue imposible.”

34 Nagasaki, October 8, 1618, ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 89r: “que nos per muitos annos criamos, e sustentamos em nossa casa,” “He este de nobre geração, e per ter de lho notiça o pay soçedando mandar o anno passado a quelle Roi huma embaxada ao de Japam, pedio aos embaxadores que procurassem deleuar consigo a seu filho.”

the Jesuits as a potential conduit to a new mission site in Joseon. Reported Couros, “the Dominicans persuaded him into signing an oath that he would take to Korea no religious of another order but their own.”³⁵

By that time, a series of men from other religious orders had made their way to Japan, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians among them, presumably delighted by the prospect of increased communication from Japan to Joseon as a result of the new diplomatic relations and associated repatriations. Tomás’s story, in which, for Couros at least, Tomás appeared rather a passive pawn of the Dominicans, was presented in very different dimensions in near-contemporary Dominican sources, such as the history produced by Diego Aduarte. The friar had long been involved in missionary work in the Philippines, but this had never been the extent of his ambitions for the Dominicans in the region. Now, here was “a young man, the son of noble parents, who from the despondent state of slave, came to reach the height of divine knowledge and in baptism was called Thomas.”³⁶ “In Manila, like others, he attended Christian activities, and in particular, he knew the religious of Santo Domingo, perhaps through the confraternity of the Holy Rosary, to which many natives and slaves came.”³⁷ In the recovery of the Joseon kingdom in the years after the invasions, Aduarte recounted, “Thomas’s father grew so high that he became Secretary to the King, which is to say the best position, and the second person in the government and command,” from which position he was able to contact his son in Manila by letter.³⁸ In Aduarte’s account, it was the Korean who took the initiative to consider a mission to Joseon:

Thomas showed these letters to the Fathers of Santo Domingo, as well as the interior of his soul, that although he desired his country, his father, and his wealth, he esteemed much more than all this taking some Religious, to sustain him in his lands, where all were pagans, to preserve him in the holy faith, which he had received.³⁹

35 ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 89r: “Vindo isto a notícia dos Religiosos de S. Domingo, fazendo lhe mimosopersudião que lhes desse hum assinado come iuramento de não leuar a Coria Religiosos de outra ordem sernão da sua.”

36 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: “vn mancebo, hijo de Padres nobles, que con ocasion del abatido estado e esclavo, vino à alcançar al alreça del conocimiento Divino, y en el Baptismo se llamò Thomas.”

37 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: “en Manila acudia como otros à los exercicios de Christiano, y en particular tuvo conocimiento con los Religiosos de São Domingo, quiçà por la Confadria del Santo Rosario, à que acuden muchos naturales, y esclavos.”

38 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: “el Padre de Thomas creció tanto, que llegó à ser Secretario del Rey, que es dezir su major Privado, y la segunda persona en el govierno, y mando.”

39 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: “Mostrò Thomas estas cartas à los Padres de Santo Domingo, y juntamente lo interior de su alma, que si bien desseava su patria, su Padre, y sus riqueças, estimava mucho mas, que todo esto à su tierra, toda de Infieles, sin llevar algunos Religiosos, que le sustentassen, y conservassen en la Santa Fè, que avia recibido.”

Tomás was narrated as the active organizer of the Dominicans' endeavours related to Korea: "he came to offer to take Religious to his land and keep them in it with the protection of his Father, and protection of the King, which could easily be expected."⁴⁰

The Jesuit Couros expressed frustration about Tomás's activities, because of the "promise that he had made to the Dominicans," when "he always suggested to us that he intended to take others of his nation."⁴¹ Couros cast doubt on the Dominicans' chances of reaching Joseon: "humanly speaking, it is impossible for foreigners to enter the country." To avoid the usual checks on foreigners entering Joseon, Tomás and his Dominican accomplices had devised a secret route to reach Joseon directly, but these plans came to the attention of the authorities in Nagasaki. The divisions between Christian mission communities were revealed in Couros's conclusion to these events: "as their superior Fray Francisco de Morales has always shown little affection for our Society, imagining that his intentions were frustrated by us, he sent me a heartfelt tirade."⁴² Couros may have explicitly highlighted the Dominican Superior's fears of Society interference in their mission affairs, but his own report also suggested that these divisions were worthy of note to his superiors.

Whatever evangelized Koreans repatriating to their homeland were able to achieve locally, Jesuit writers were not able to document confidently any evidence of the beginnings of a new missionary endeavour. However, the regular return of Koreans to Joseon over these years kept open hopes in the Jesuit archives of a welcoming groundswell among the Joseon population for their message. Writing from Macao, in 1624, the Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues Tçuzu, whose diplomatic and linguistic roles for the Society were encapsulated in the epithet Tçuzu (from the Japanese *tsūji*, communicator/translator), presented a series of claims that were hard to verify in their details but reflected the live prospect that Society men countenanced for a Joseon mission. He suggested that "many thousands of Koreans made Christians in Japan, from which many have returned home keeping their Christian faith."⁴³ Further, Tçuzu described a "kingdom of Korea of which religious of the Society have already taken possession through two or three missions, going there from Japan."⁴⁴ Certainly, the Jesuit

40 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: "vino à ofrecer se à llevar Religiosos à su tierra, y conservarlos en ella com el amparo de su Padre, y proteccion des Reyl, que ofrecia, y se podia facilmente esperar, pues siento èl tan aficionado à la fê, lo avia de alcançar de su padre, y su Padre del Rey."

41 Nagasaki, October 8, 1618, ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 89r: "Tambem o Thomas possa promeces que tinha foies aos Religiosos de S. Domingo sempre nos embcobrio que pretendia levandos e assi elle com outros de sua nação."

42 ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 89r: "como so seu superior chamado Frei Francisco de Morales sempre se mechou pouco afeiçoado a Companhia imaginando que por nossa via sairão frustrados seus intentos, me momandou hum tirado muy sentido."

43 Macao, 1624, BRAH, MS Jes Leg. 21, fols. 317–323v, here 323v: "de muyto milhares de Corais feitos christãos em Japam donde muytos latornaram perseveraram christãos."

44 BRAH, MS Jes Leg. 21, fol. 323v: "o Reyno de Coraj, deque Ja tem tomado posse com duas o tres missioes quae os Religiosos da Companhia que la passaram de Japam."

archive contains proposals for various plans of this kind over this period. It was the turn of the Italian Giacomo Antonio Giannone to write to the General Vitelleschi in March 1628, whose call to launch a dedicated mission to Joseon was pointedly framed in the context of the activities of other orders in the region.

These past years I wrote to Your Paternity to charge the Father Visitor of these parts to try to open it to a mission for the kingdom of Korea. Now I remind Y.P. of it again, because I hear it said that the Friars are seeking it, and that they may have already entered, according to what I was told the other day.⁴⁵

He, like Eugenio, explicitly noted his attempts to make his arguments with varied authority figures in the Society, not only in Rome but also in the region:

In what I am now writing to the Father Visitor I strongly recommend it, since many of our people are idle in the College of Macao, for this door to Japan is now so closed that it seems the Lord wants the door into that kingdom to be opened from Korea, where there are many Christians who have returned from Japan to their own kingdom.⁴⁶

Giannone's proposal that, as the door to Japan appeared to be closing, another in Joseon might be opening was echoed in the later writings of Gaspar de Amaral. In April 1642, he wrote from Macao with a similar idea to establish a hub in Joseon from which a mission to Japan might in time be relaunched.⁴⁷

There were evidently persistent hopes expressed in the Jesuit archive and beyond it that the return of Koreans to their homeland had implanted Christianity there, ready to be activated by missionizing men if, and when, they could reach it themselves. Rumours about a Christian Joseon from Nagasaki in the mid-1660s were reported by a captain who had returned from the Japanese port to Binondoc in the Philippines. His views were recorded by a Dominican religious to the Provincial of the Philippines, Juan de los Angeles, that "in the kingdom of Korea there is a very beautiful church and many Christians, with European Fathers, who cannot be other than those from the Society."⁴⁸ Japanese authorities also appeared to fear that evangelized Koreans might seek to return to Japan to instigate mission work. When the Joseon scholar Yi Chi-Hang recorded his

45 March 14, 1628, ARSI, JapSin 37, fol. 272r: "Os annos passados escriui à V.P. *que* encomendasse ao *Padre* Visitador destas partes que procurasse de abrir à missão do Reino da Coreia; agora de nouo o torni a lembrar à V.P.; *porque* ousou dizer que os Frates procura isto, e erao *que* já entrarão nelle, segundo outro dia e contarão."

46 ARSI, JapSin 37, fol. 272r: "na que escreuo agora ao *Padre* Visitador o *encomendo* muito, já *que* muitos dos nossos estão ociosos na quelle *Collegio* de Macao, sisposto que esta porta de Japão aò presente esta tão fachoda, e parece que o *Senhor* quiere *que* se abra à porta à quelle Reino da Coreia, onder ha muitos Christãos que desde Japão se tornarão pera o seu Reino."

47 Macao, April 29, 1642, ARSI, JapSin 161-II, fol. 265; Akune, "New Evidence and Perspective of the Pedro Marques Missionary Group," in *Interactions Between Rivals*, ed. Curvelo and Cattaneo, 419–47.

48 Cartta o Relación Sumaría de la sucedido en China y Xapon hasta henero de de 1666, Binondoc, May 13, 1666, BNE, MS 18553/5, fol. 6v: "e nel Reino de la corea ay vna muy linda Iglesia y muchos Christianos, con *Padres* Europeos, que no puedan ser otros que de la Compañia."

interrogation after being shipwrecked off the coast of Japan during 1636, the questions drawn up by the Governor of Matsumae included: "Are any of you Christians and do you preach this religion?"⁴⁹ The prospect of a flourishing Christian community in Korea, however uncertain the reality, continued to galvanise hopes and fears in the region through the period.

Europe's seventeenth century opened to offer Jesuit writers new hope of conversion possibilities with the return of Koreans to their homeland. Their communications continued to cast the Joseon population as an opportunity awaiting the Society, individual men successively emphasizing the urgency with which the Society's leadership ought to commit resources to such a mission. Each had his own vision of how best it could be conducted and increasingly, they diversified their requests through the Society's hierarchy. But more explicit still was the persuasive exploitation of concerns about the actions of other Christian orders looking to Joseon. If it was not to be the Society's own men who could mount a mission to Joseon, they looked to the Korean men they had trained in Japan to return ahead of the Fathers. The best advance mediators of the Christian message, in Jesuit writers' eyes, were educated men who ideally held elite status that could be activated in Joseon. Korean women, absent from this discussion among the Society's men, appeared to be perceived to have no forms of status either in Japan or in their homelands that could be valuable to such endeavours. Evangelized Korean women did not form a noteworthy part of the vision articulated in the archive of the Jesuits' mission strategies for Joseon society.

Exile as Gendered Opportunity

The Jesuit archive attested to the ways that evangelized Korean men such as Tomás not only moved across the region within Christian texts but also physically. Korean men were documented as mobile in the region, including as they conducted Christian pastoral and mission activities. In 1644, Pedro Marques wrote from Macao to the General about another Korean man also known as Tomás who had long been serving a *Kirishitan* community based in Cambodia.⁵⁰ Marques explained how Tomás aimed to travel to Japan where he could support the work of the Jesuit fathers who were operating under the severe risk of punishment imposed by Japan's authorities. Tomás departed in the company of a Polish Jesuit, Albert Metinski, first to Manila, and then on to Macao, and eventually to Japan via an island within the district of Satsuma. However, the group were arrested by the Japanese authorities, tortured, and eventually executed.

While only men could be documented as deploying the Society's institutional hierarchy to move about the region, exile could enable forms of mobility that transferred both Korean women and men and Christian teachings to new locales. The

⁴⁹ Gale, trans., "A Shipwreck (Korean) in 1636 A.D.," 16.

⁵⁰ Macao, October 7, 1644, ARSI, JapSin 29-II, fols. 268ff. See also Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 328–31; Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 169.

Society had long operated under perilous conditions in Japan since Hideyoshi's 1587 edict, although a small number of Jesuit men had been permitted to attend the Christian community in Nagasaki. However, under Tokugawa Ieyasu, restrictions on the remaining Christian population were tightened, in Edo in 1612 and more broadly in 1614 across Japan. As the activities of Christians shifted increasingly underground, the Jesuit archive began to be populated by the stories of women and men who were identified and investigated for their Christian faith. Under these changing circumstances, Jesuit writers reported, for example, the altered position of the Korean Julia at Ieyasu's court. She had been under increasing pressure to abjure her faith, including, the Jesuits reported, from Ieyasu himself. From Mexico, Sebastián Vizcaíno reported how "the good lady, as she was so devoted to God and firm in her faith, had the good fortune of being thrown out of the palace [...] rather than give up her faith and do the will of the emperor, despite the many promises they made to her."⁵¹ By 1613, her refusal saw her expelled from the court, and exiled successively to an island named Ōshima, later to Nijijima and then to Kōzushima.

A persistent concern for Christian writers was women's bodily vulnerability as they moved both within and beyond the faith community, a factor that was not referenced in the biographies of men sent into exile. Korean women's bodies and their sexuality were never simply a matter for women to manage in these accounts but entailed men as well. Protecting Julia's sexual honour in the face of considerable vulnerability during her exile clearly preoccupied those in her wider support network. After receiving Ieyasu's order of banishment, Couros notes that "the Christians secured the governor's consent that a serving girl they provided accompany her."⁵² No excerpts from Julia's letters or speeches appeared to suggest that Julia herself was concerned by vulnerability to sexual assault. What her transcribed letters instead foregrounded was her ongoing, determined attempts to continue communication with her Christian support network. Two letters from Julia appear to have been transcribed and translated into the Jesuit archives. Both relate to the period of 1612–13 when she was banished to islands among the Izu-shichitō archipelago. Mateo de Couros conveyed to Acquaviva an extract from a letter that he claimed Julia had written to Morejón as she prepared to leave for Ōshima. Here she celebrated her banishment as an opportunity to demonstrate her fervour yet further, asked specifically: "console me with your letters, because sometimes there is an opportunity for a courier to the island I am going."⁵³ It may have been a result of her continued access to Christian communication that, after a month on Ōshima, she was banished to another island five leagues further away, Nijijima. Only two weeks later,

51 Mexico, 1614, BNE, MS 3046, fol. 110v: "la buena señora como tan seruia de dios y firme en la fee tubo por bien de ser ejientada y hechada de el Palacio [...] que dejar la fee in hazer la voluntad de lempemador, por muchas promessas que le hizeron."

52 Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244v: "Porem os Christãos acabaram com o Governador que consentisse acompanhala huma moça de seruiço que elles lhe deram."

53 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 245r: "tambem me console com suas cartas, pois a miude ha oportunidade de portador pera a Ilha aonde vou."

Julia was sent further away to a more deserted islet, Kōzushima. Even while Couros celebrated how the more isolated she was, the more enhanced was her “communication with God our Lord,” it was something he could report because it “may be seen from a letter she sent, when she had the chance, to the Father at Suruga,” asking him for reading material, and “begging him to inform her also of the state of the Church and the Society, and whether the persecution was continuing.”⁵⁴ The second transcribed letter, to Morejón, was written from Kōzushima, in which Julia documented the existence of a more extensive correspondence than that which now is known: “Around the sixth moon I wrote you a letter. Did you receive it?” “In another earlier letter I also asked that a person might be sent to me.”⁵⁵

I received your letter with great joy, and I will respectfully answer you in a couple of lines. All day long I am anxious thinking that the conditions might have worsened for you. Christmas is coming soon, and I am especially fearful for the situation of the Fathers in those parts [...] Please, convey my respectful regards to all the Fathers.⁵⁶

This correspondence appeared to function as a form of spiritual solace as well as engagement. To Morejón, Julia offered her prayers as part of a spiritual exchange, couched in the language of humility: “Although I am a sinful woman, I always pray for the state of the Church and its prosperity. I respectfully beg that you all pray God for me as well.”⁵⁷ Exile offered women new opportunities and activities. It was as a result of her exile that Julia’s own writings became part of the Jesuit archive, attesting to her continued engagement and fervour to advance the Christian community, and that of the Society.

Exile also offered Julia new forms of spiritual agency, freeing her to proselytize her faith in alternative ways to those provided by her residency at Ieyasu’s household, and she appeared able to continue to foster her Christian networks. On Niijima, Julia found herself in the company of several other women banished from Ieyasu’s residence. This became an opportunity for her to continue catechizing activities. She spent time teaching the Christian faith to two other exiled women, whose apparent embrace of the faith was reflected in new names which she bestowed upon them, María and Magdalena.

54 ARSJ, JapSin 57, fol. 245v: “se da a *comunicação com Deos* N.S. como *bem se colhe de huma carta que offerecendose boa occasiam escreueo dali ao padre de Surunga*,” “rogandolhe juntamente que a auisasse do estado da Christandade e da *Companhia*, e se hia por diante a perseguiçam.”

55 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r; English translation of Morejón’s transcription in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

56 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r; English translation of Morejón’s transcription in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

57 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r; English translation of Morejón’s transcription in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

Describing her exile to Nijjima, Giram likewise flagged Julia's particular role in liaising with these other exiled women there:

Julia had a particular friendship with two of these, and little by little she talked with them about our holy faith, to which, by the reasons she gave them and the good example of her life, they became attracted so that they wished to receive it and begged immediately for baptism. But as Julia did not know the form of baptism, she could not do so; she gave them Christian names, calling one Magdalena and the other María. And with this the two proceeded as Christians, praying and commending themselves to God.⁵⁸

When Julia returned to the mainland, she performed her faith in new ways. In Nagasaki, the Dominican José de San Jacinto singled out Julia in 1620 among the women "teaching doctrine and singing litanies with girls," and reported that she was homeless, moving "from one house to another" within a Christian network.⁵⁹ Julia's forms of banishment appeared to present new kinds of mobility to her that were both physical, as she transmitted Christian teachings in new locales, and epistolary, as she was admitted into the Jesuit archive as a mediated author through the transcription of her letters.

Other evangelized Koreans were expelled from the islands of Japan altogether. Both women and men formed part of other Christian communities in the region as a result. The Jesuit *dōjuku* Gayo, for example, went into exile to Manila with the prominent *Kirishitan* Takayama Ukon, in 1614. However, as Jesuit authors recounted it, Gayo determined to express his spiritual agency by returning the following year to Nagasaki where he continued his proselytizing work, despite the increased risks of his actions.⁶⁰ Gayo's relative freedom of movement across the region contrasts with the experience of Pak Marina who also took her faith to Manila in 1614. She was one of fourteen women who formed a community there, allocated one of the Society's houses beyond the walls of San Miguel, where, the Jesuit Francisco Colín recounted in the 1650s, the women "were enclosed."⁶¹ Colín described the praiseworthy activities of the women, "busied with prayer most of the day and night, never leaving their enclosure except to go to the church, which is attached to their house, to hear mass and receive the holy sacraments."⁶² As Colín described it, these women's spiritual agency corresponded with

58 January 10, 1620, Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 465r: "Com duas destas tomou Julia particular amizade, e pouco e pouco lhes foi praticando as cousas de nossa *santa* fee, à qual assi polas rezões *que* Julia lhes daua, como por seu bom exemplo de vida, se affeiçoarão de modo que a desejarão receber, a pedirão instantemente as baptizasses. Porem como Julia não sabia a forma do Baptismo, não pode isto ter efeito; pos lhes nomes de *christão* chamando a huma Magdalena e a outra Maria. E com isto procedião as duas como christãs, rezevãõ e se encomendavãõ a Deos."

59 [Nagasaki] March 25, 1620, San Jacinto, "Relación breve," 26-27: "andavan enseñando la doctrina y cantando letanias con las niñas; [...] de una casa en otra."

60 João Rodrigues Giram to Muzio Vitelleschi, Macao, March 15, 1626, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 17r-v.

61 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:502: "donde se encerró lulia con treze compañeras."

62 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:502: "ocupadas la mayor parte del día, y noche en oración, sin salir de aquel su recogimiento, sino solamente para la Iglesia, que está pegada con su casa, a oír Missa, y recibir los Santos Sacramentos." See also Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, chap. 3 and 4.

their reduced mobility, protected by their enclosure. Movement within the Christian community beyond Japan produced different expectations about mobility and agency for Korean women and men.

Joseon via China: Knowledge Exchanges Between Learned Men

During the period of the Japanese invasions of Joseon, a number of Jesuit authors had mirrored Hideyoshi's geopolitical worldview in seeing the Joseon kingdom as a bridge to Ming China, although with different motivations in mind. In 1596, Luís Fróis had reported how "the common talk" was that the Gospel could easily be proclaimed in Korea from where it would spread across kingdoms.⁶³ As Europe entered its seventeenth century, however, it was China under the Ming dynasty and then its successor, the Qing, that appeared as a new pathway for Christian messages to reach Joseon. Evangelized Korean men were an important part of these missionary, especially Jesuit, aspirations and actions in China.⁶⁴ Because of their transferable education, men such as the Korean Vicente could be employed at multiple locales, spending time in both Macao and Beijing as well as Japan.⁶⁵ As Giram recounted, when it became clear that Vicente would be unable to return to Joseon, a new plan had been devised by the superiors by which they would attempt access via China: "For this purpose, they sent the good Vicente there."⁶⁶ Vicente was to spend some seven years in China, where his educational skills enabled him to engage Chinese scholars.⁶⁷

In the Jesuit archive, China now came to the fore as a new gateway to Joseon, to which determining the political relationship between the Joseon king and the Chinese emperor was significant. Jesuit authors observed how Joseon envoys regularly attended the Ming and later Qing courts, providing a potential pathway to communication with the Joseon kingdom for the Society. Tçuzu, writing from Macao in February 1633, described how he had been able to intercept the Joseon envoys as they passed through Dengzhou (now Penglai)

⁶³ December 3, 1596, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v.

⁶⁴ For a recent analysis of the extensive historiography of the activities of Jesuits in China, see Rule, "The Historiography of the Jesuits in China." On how Jesuits placed in Ming China perceived the Joseon kingdom at this period, see the analysis of Cheong and Lee, "Accounts of Korea by Jesuit Missionaries in China."

⁶⁵ See also Roux, "Joseon gagyoui jyaebalgyeon: 16–19segi cheonjugyo seongyosai Joseon jinchul jeollyage daehan gichoyeongu." 조선 架橋의 재발견: 16-19세기 천주교 선교사의 조선 진출 전략에 대한 기초연구 [The rediscovery of the Korean Bridge: A preliminary study of the Catholic missionaries' strategies regarding Korea in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries].

⁶⁶ Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 122v: "*pera isso mandarão lá ao bom Vicente.*"

⁶⁷ Giram, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 122v and Morejón, Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fols. 461v ff.

in Shandong province, using the opportunity to share with them a series of religious and scientific texts:

The ambassadors from the King of Korea to the King [sic] of China came there, whom I befriended, and through them I sent to the King of Korea the books of our law in Chinese, and others on our sciences in the same, and a large mappamundi made by Father Mateo Ricci printed in Chinese letters which they use, and other things.⁶⁸

Tçuzu was confident about the reception of his gifts in Joseon, claiming that the king

was very happy to have this news of our law and about the world that they did not have, and to see the account that the King of China made of our Fathers, I received his reply, a very good gift of various things.⁶⁹

The Provincial Francisco Furtado articulated this mission strategy more fully:

As what men read in books spreads farther than what is said by mouth, and books preach for us, in our absence and even after our death, this will be a lasting means not only for the conversion of this kingdom but also for the surrounding kingdoms that understand and study through Chinese books.⁷⁰

For a number of Jesuits, it would be the writings rather than the spoken words of missionary men that they felt would forge the pathway into the Joseon kingdom.⁷¹ Yet Joseon sources indicate how important also were connections between men and physical sites that showcased Christian and European material culture. In addition to texts in Chinese script, diplomatic travel, especially to Beijing, exposed Joseon

68 Macao, February 5, 1633, ARSI, JapSin 18–I, fol. 122v: “os embaixadores do Rey de Corai, pera o Rey da China com os quaes tomir amizade, e por elles mandei ao Rey da Corea os livros de nossa ley em China, e outras nossas sciencias no mesmo, e hum mapa munco grande do Padre Mathus Rixio impresso em letras sinicas, que la corere e outras cousas.” See the report on the encounter from the Joseon envoy, Jeong Du-won, and his interpreter, in Lim, “Rodrigues the Gift-Giver.” Jeong’s report notably omitted reference to the books on Christianity (p. 153).

69 ARSI, JapSin 18–I, fol. 122v: “com que muito folgou por tem noticias de nossa ley, e do mundo que la não tinha, e vez a conta que o Rey da China fal dos nossos Padres teue sua reposta, e me mandou, hum presente muite bom de varias cousas.”

70 ARSI, JapSin 187, fol. 17r: “porque como o que os home que lam nos livros se dilata mais as longe do o que se fala se boca; e os livros são sique pregão por nos em nossa auzencia; e ainda de pois da morte, sera esta hum meyo eterno, não so polla converssaão de queste Reino, mas ainda de todos os mai que reinos circunuisinãos que entendem e estudão pellos liuros sinicos.”

71 On knowledge of Western thought in the late Joseon period, see Choi Seok Woo 崔奭祐, “Joseonhuigiui seohaksasang.” 朝鮮後期の西學思想 [Western thought in the late Joseon Dynasty]. Study of the western influences on the *Sirhak* 實學 (Practical Knowledge) movement at this period and beyond is extensive. It is important to note that *Sirhak* was not a contemporary term used by these scholars but a twentieth-century identification of this scholarly community, as noted by Cawley, “Dis-assembling Traditions,” 297n2. On the impact of Ricci’s catechism for Late Joseon Catholic writers, see Cawley, “Deconstructing Hegemony”; Chung, “Introducing Christian Spirituality to Joseon Korea.”

envoys and intellectuals to Catholic doctrine, churches, and art.⁷² Significantly, these eyewitnesses from Joseon recorded their perception of Christian art and practice through the lens of their own gender ideologies. They remarked upon the “girlishness” of portraits of Jesus Christ, and commented upon the “disgusting” weeping they felt was depicted in images of female and male onlookers to Christ’s death.⁷³ In such ways, as Pierre-Emmanuel Roux has suggested, Beijing acted as a key contact zone for transnational encounter.⁷⁴ In 1690 the Flemish Jesuit Antoine Thomas who had spent considerable time in China, reiterated the now commonly circulating view among those who had met individuals from Joseon, that the “character of the people is gentle,” as such “suited to the Gospel.”⁷⁵

In the mid-1630s, a potentially significant opportunity to take the mission into Joseon with the support of its political leaders emerged. After the second of two conflicts between the Manchu and Joseon, their respective leaders, Hong Taiji and King Injo, entered into a new political relationship in which Injo’s two sons, Crown Prince Sohyeon and his brother Bongrim (later King Hyojong), were sent to Qing territory, spending eight years in Shenyang and then almost two more in Beijing. The princes were accompanied by their wives, Princess Gang (later known as Ming hoe-bin) and Lady Jang (later Queen Inseon), families, and an entourage of several hundred.⁷⁶ Princess Gang

72 Choi Seok Woo 崔奭祐, “Joseonhuigiui seohaksasang.” 朝鮮後期の西學思想 [Western thought in the late Joseon Dynasty], 193; Roux, “The Catholic Experience of Chosŏn Envoys in Beijing.” Most studies of contact between Western knowledge and Joseon envoys focus upon the eighteenth century. See Jo, “The Relationship Between Joseon Envoys and Western Missionaries in Beijing”; Lee, “Hong Dae-yong’s Beijing Travels and His Changing Perception of the West”; Lim, “‘Postponed Reciprocity’”; Shin Ik-Cheol 신익철, “18segi yeonhaengsawa seoyang seongyosau mannang.” 18세기 연행사와 서양 선교사의 만남 [Korean envoys and western missionaries in Beijing in the eighteenth century]; Shin Ik-Cheol 신익철, “18-19segi yeonhaengsawjeorui bukgyeong cheonjudang bangmun yangsangwa uimi.” 18-19세기 연행사절의 북경 천주당 방문 양상과 의미 [The aspect and meaning of Korean envoys visiting Catholic churches in Beijing in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries]; Shin Ik-Cheol 신익철, “The Experiences of Visiting Catholic Churches in Beijing and the Recognition of Western Learning Reflected in the Journals of Travel to Beijing”; Eggert, “Failed Missions.”

73 See examples, Shin, “The Experiences of Visiting Catholic Churches in Beijing,” 22, 24.

74 Roux, “The Prohibited Sect of Yaso,” 137; Roux, “The Catholic Experience of Chosŏn Envoys in Beijing.” On the consequences of these interactions for Catholicism in Korea, see Baker, “The Martyrdom of Paul Yun”; Baker, ed., *Critical Readings on Christianity in Korea*, vol. 1; Adams, “Ghosts, Spirits, and Saints”; Baker with Rausch, *Catholics and Anti-Catholicism*.

75 Beijing, September 6, 1690, ARSI, JapSin 148, fol. 156v: “gentis indoles blanda, et ad Euangelium accommodate.”

76 Sun-Hee Yoon, “Repertoires of Power,” 103, citing Qing Taizong, *Wen huangdi shilu*, 34: 17–18; Kim, Nam-Yun 김남윤, “Sohyeonsejabin Gangssiui simyangwan saenghwal.” 소현세자빈 강씨의 심양관 생활 [A study of the life of Princess Gang], suggests an entourage of around 500 people (p. 153).

managed affairs of the residence and acted as hostess during Sohyeon's absences.⁷⁷ In these households, a large cohort of individuals from the Joseon court, women and men of both elite and lesser status, had the potential to encounter Jesuit teachings. Jesuit reports recognized the opportunity that the presence of members of Korea's royal family in Shenyang represented for the spread of Christianity. However, key Jesuit texts of this period focus upon the men who were the most influential members of the party, the two princes. When he recorded his experiences of meeting the pair in Beijing, the German Jesuit, Johann Adam von Schall, referred to Sohyeon as "king," although he was the son of the then king Injo, and indeed, never became king himself.

Schall had strong personal interests in astronomy and the sciences, so it was not perhaps surprising that his reports indicated that he considered western sciences, especially mathematics and astronomy, as conduits to engage the princes with Christianity. In Beijing, Schall gave Sohyeon a range of texts that presented western knowledge, alongside religious texts and images. In these events, as recounted by Schall, the Korean princes were a highly appreciative audience of Jesuit knowledge, bursting into tears at the conclusion of their encounter.⁷⁸ Sohyeon's note of thanks, as it was recorded by Schall at least, registered the Crown Prince's appreciation of the "majesty of the holy image" that Schall had given him.⁷⁹ He was complimentary of Christianity, describing it as "a doctrine most suitable for improving the mind and cultivating the virtues."⁸⁰ Approaching it as akin to scientific knowledge, he promised to communicate it with "lettered men" upon his return to Joseon.⁸¹ His missive celebrated the global brotherhood that was possible between like-minded men:

77 Kim, Nam-Yun 김남윤, "Joseonyeoini gyeokkeun hollan, iyeoksari, hwanhyangui hyeonsilgwa gieong - Sohyeonsejabin Gangssireul jungsimeuro." 조선여인이 겪은 혼란, 이역살이, 환향의 현실과 기억 - 소현세자빈 강씨를 중심으로 [The realities and memories of Joseon women's experience in the Manchurian invasion, living in an alien country, and homecoming]; Kim, Nam-Yun 김남윤, "Sohyeonsejabin Gangssiui simyanggwang saenghwal." 소현세자빈 강씨의 심양관 생활 [A study of the life of Princess Gang], especially from p. 158 on her duties as a hostess. Yang Sung Kuk 양성국 and Kim Bong-Hyun 김봉현, "Sohyeonsejabin Gangssi (Sohyeonsejabin Gangssi)ui saengwa gieopgaeongsin." 소현세자빈 강씨 (昭顯世子嬪姜氏)의 생애와 기업가정신 [The life and entrepreneurship of Lady Gang, wife of Prince Sohyeonseja]; Shim Hyun-Chul 심현철, "Minhoebinui gyeongyeongsilcheone daehan gochal." 민회빈의 경영실천에 대한 고찰 [A consideration of the management practice of the Crown Princess Minhoebin].

78 Korean scholars have questioned Schall's interpretation of Sohyeon's response in his behaviour and his writings. Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 139-42. See also discussion in Choi Seok Woo 崔奭祐, "Joseonhuigui seohaksasang." 朝鮮後期の西學思想 [Western thought in the late Joseon Dynasty], 195-96; Hwang Jeong-Uck 황정우, "Sohyeonsejawa adam syal." 소현세자와 아담 샬 [Prince Sohyeon and Adam Schall von Bell].

79 Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 140: "Sacrae Imaginis tanta est Majestas."

80 Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 140: "doctrinam ad expoliendum animum & virtutibus excolendum aptissimam."

81 Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 140: "communicabo literarum studiosis."

you and I who come not only from different kingdoms, but even countries so far distant as separated by the whole ocean, we come together in different parts on another's soil and love each other as if we were joined by blood. I am obliged to confess that the minds of men are united by their studies, whatever the immense distances that separate them.⁸²

Sohyeon's letter, as presented in Schall's work, appeared enthusiastic about sharing Jesuit information with Joseon scholars.⁸³ Women did not appear a designated target group for this knowledge dissemination in either the eyes of the Jesuit author or the Crown Prince as described in this text.⁸⁴ Yet, when Sohyeon and his entourage returned permanently to Joseon, Schall could count only one Christian among the party, a eunuch.⁸⁵ However, we cannot rule out that contacts and at the very least conversations communicated Christian teachings to courtly Joseon women during the long period that the Joseon royal retinue were resident in proximity to China-based missionaries. This represented one of the few occasions that a substantial cohort of well-connected Korean women could have served as a potential conduit for faith information transfer.

Conclusions

Expressing and living their faith made some Korean women and men mobile in the region, although not usually in ways that were under their own control. However, exile could represent new opportunities to evangelize. The Christian archives documented how Julia had continued to present Christian teachings among women during her exile although authors expressed concerns for her bodily vulnerability in these environments. As such, it is not surprising that some writers celebrated the security created by convent walls for other Christian women in exile. Women's bodies seemed to encumber Christian men with responsibilities, as much as they did women themselves, or perhaps even more so.

In many ways, Korean women's movement around the region, particularly in organized transfers such as the return of some to their homeland, represented a lost

82 Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 140: "ambo nos non solum ex diversis regnis oriundi, sed regnis etiam tam longè dissitis totòque Oceano, diversis in alieno solo convenientes, quasi sanguinis fædere juncti amamus invicem, non satis capio, quâ occultâ nature vi eveniat. Cogor fateri hominum animos studijs conjungi, quantumvis terries longissimè disjungantur."

83 Wong analyses Sohyeon's letter in the context of royal letter-writing practices in "Jesuits, Korean Catholics, and the State," 76–85.

84 However, Yang Sung Kuk and Kim Bong-Hyun, and Shim Hyun-Chul, all suggest that both the Crown Prince and Princess Gang benefited from the exchange of Western learning with Schall; Yang Sung Kuk 양성국 and Kim Bong-Hyun 김봉현, "Sohyeonsejabin Gangssi (Sohyeonsejabin Gangssi) ui saengwa gieopgajeongsin." 소현세자빈 강씨 (昭顯世子嬪姜氏)의 생애와 기업가정신 [The life and entrepreneurship of Lady Gang, wife of Prince Sohyeonseja], 126, 141; Shim Hyun-Chul 심현철, "Minhoebinui gyeongyeongsilcheone daehan gochal." 민회빈의 경영실천에 대한 고찰 [A consideration of the management practice of the Crown Princess Minhoebin], 57–58.

85 Yamaguchi Seiji 山口正之, "Shōken seishi to tōjakubō." 昭顯世子と湯若望 [Crown Prince Sohyeon and Adam Schall], 107; Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 138–39.

opportunity for evangelizing. Christian authors did not explicitly consider how they could employ the fervour that their own texts had claimed to witness in evangelized Korean women as part of their mission strategy for the Joseon kingdom. Christian interpretation of the region's formal political and social structures identified leadership and intellectual networks that were operated by men as the most productive conduits for Christian dissemination. These did indeed activate pathways of western learning and Catholic teachings into Joseon, as contemporary Joseon sources demonstrate, and these may have reached a small group of women there through scholarly networks and families.⁸⁶ There was, however, no developed approach mapping on to what Christian authors had reported seeing functioning among women in Korean communities in Japan or similar to the locally operating "Biblewomen" now judged so crucial to the development of Christian communities in Korea at later periods.⁸⁷ Ultimately, ideologies of gender embedded in the Christian archives made the relationship between mobility and agency for evangelized Korean women the reverse of that perceived for their male counterparts.

86 Park, "Catholicism and Women."

87 Chang, "Hidden but Real"; Clark, "Mothers, Daughters, Biblewomen, and Sisters"; Baker, ed., *Critical Readings on Christianity in Korea*, vol. 2, pt. 4 and vol. 3.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the great wonders that I cannot stop admiring is that God our Lord took the ambition and pride of *Taiko-sama*, lord of Japan [Hideyoshi], in the war he made on the kingdom of Korea, as a means to remove from that country very many souls that from eternity had been written in the book of life: some for excellent Christians and others illustrious martyrs.

THUS REFLECTED THE Jesuit Pedro Morejón from his vantage point in Macao in 1627.¹ The introduction of Christianity to Korean women and men emerged as the product of violence. At least initially, it may have offered some a protection from forms of violence. For others, the best demonstration of their faith would be found in suffering more violence. At each moment, these intersections between violence, Christianity, agency, and opportunity were shaped by gendered dynamics that determined expectations and realities for evangelized Korean women and men in the region.

In her work on Japanese women's religious activities at this period, Haruko Nawata Ward argued that "women catechists preached, taught catechism and other Christian literature, translated and wrote Christian literature, persuaded women and men for conversion, baptized, heard confessions, disputed with the Shinto-Buddhist opponents, and cared for their flocks pastorally in various places."² Korean women's activities were not these. Primarily operating as part of a disenfranchised diaspora in the region, they had neither the same opportunities to express their faith nor to be recorded in the performance of their apostolate. Yet their expressions of faith were many and they often struck Catholic observers with the force of their commitment. This study has sought to be attentive to the complex dynamics of such spiritual agency for both women and men, as well as to their points of contact with archives of the region through which we can interpret it. Many recent studies of Catholic practice around the world have rightly suggested how their forms were nuanced by local social and cultural norms including gender ideologies.³ However, in the case of the evangelization of Korean women and men, it was rarely the norms of Joseon that were at stake but those of other societies in the region in which these individuals operated.

1 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, *Jesuitas* 9/2666, fols. 461v–462r: "Una de las mas insignes marauillas de que no acabo de admirarme es auer tomado Dios nuestro senor la ambicion y soberunia de Taycosama senor de Japon, en la guerra que hizo al Reyno de Cõria por medio para sacar de aquella tierra muchissimas almas que ab eterno tenia escritas en el libro de la uida: a vnos para excelentes Cristianos y a otros para *ilustrisimos* Martyres."

2 Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, 221.

3 Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 155; Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*; Jaffary, ed., *Gender, Religion, and Race*.

This study has made gender analysis an explicit and central part of its investigative framework. It has sought to explore the contours of the interactions between Koreans and Catholic missions, placing focus on the distinct spiritual agency and experiences of evangelized Korean women and men in the early modern period. At the same time, it has aimed to analyze how evangelized Koreans, especially women, were presented in mission archives written by Christian men and how that presentation might have shaped the realities of mission experience for both cohorts. Important perceived points of difference were commonly expressed in the mission archives between Korean women and men, between Korean women and Japanese and other women in the region, and between evangelized women and those who were not. Thinking relationally about Korean women also required Catholic missionary men to consider themselves, and their duties and responsibilities to these women, including to record their experiences.

This work has argued that understanding the meanings that gender held for men's expression of their identity and their actions is also critical. European, Korean, and Japanese performances of masculinities and expectations of men were all made and measured in mission activities, including by those seeking their eradication. Jesuit perceptions of Korean Christian men appeared to deny them status as adults who could take on an equal role to their own in the Society, at least before the moment of their deaths. For their own part, a beautiful young boy served as a spirit guide or protector within the visionary experiences of several evangelized Koreans. The outcome of encounters between gender ideologies was not always conflict. The reported missive of Crown Prince Sohyeon to the Jesuit scholar Schall articulated a brotherhood bound by shared intellectual interests that transcended even faith. Moreover, despite employing them for quite different aims, assumptions about the importance of male heads of household to the continuance of Christian faith seemed to be shared by both European missionaries and Japanese authorities. On the other hand, envoys from Joseon saw visualized in artworks of Christ and his worshippers that they encountered in Qing China, Christian emotional expressions they deemed inappropriate for adult men.

Crucial to these considerations about evangelized Korean women and the representations that followed was the power of their bodies, particularly as they were interpreted almost exclusively in terms of their sexual dimensions. Women in Joseon, the Jesuit Luís Fróis informed his readers in his narrative of the invasion of their lands, were "reputed for being chaste, honest and modest."⁴ It was this perception that made the treatment of their bodies a perfect vehicle for Fróis's demonstration of the

⁴ Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, 5:549: "terem fama as mulheres córays de serem castas, honestas e recolhidas." This was not a claim made uniquely of Korean women. The Jesuit Alonso Sánchez, in Macao in the early 1580s, claimed Chinese women were "extraordinarily chaste, serious, modest," cited in Boxer, "Macao as a Religious and Commercial Entrepôt," 66.

distinction between the moral standards and bodily continence of *Kirishitan* soldiers from that of other Japanese military forces. As Korean women moved around the region, the mission archives suggested how the desire to control access to their own bodies might have attracted women to Christianity. Then, as Korean women became evangelized, attention to their bodies' vulnerability became a point of concern for Catholic men and their sense of identity, as well as for the kind of Christian experience they perceived possible for these women. While Korean women's words and actions emphasized a desire to renounce their bodies, at least in its sexualized dimensions, the work of Catholic authors made it central to their accounts. Finally, as women were subjected to multiple forms of violence, their bodies were described in Catholic texts as capable of hosting supernatural energy and displaying remarkable resilience. The power accredited to women's bodies, to determine signs of faith and Christian masculinities as well as women's realities, were palpably present throughout the mission archives' discussion of Korean women.

The striking power narrated in the mission archives attached to Korean women's bodies was also made in relation to perceptions about those of Korean men. The particular qualities perceived of Korean male corporeality in these accounts were rendered determinative in the communication of their experience of Christianity too. Their bodies were sites permeable to Christian teaching, practice, and interpretation. Their bodily labour to build and care with others, their corporeal experiences of pain and suffering, and their demonstrative affective performances were all legible for Catholic authors as signs of their intense fervour. Detached from linguistic, social, economic, and political structures of power in their new locations through which they might otherwise have conveyed their faith experiences, the majority of Korean men communicated through their bodies in the mission archive.

The gender ideologies that Catholic male authors both lived and endorsed, produced mission archives that remain vital documentation for how Korean women and men experienced Christianity as a cohort and as individuals at this period. Through these, evangelized Koreans went even further into the world as part of a global Christian community.⁵ They were read and written about from Goa to Rome, in the pages of Colín's history of the missions in the Philippines and Guerriero's expansive contemporary reporting on the Society's global missions. Their textual travels reached beyond the Catholic world, thanks to translations of works such as those of Morejón.⁶

Through the archive, now increasingly accessible to scholars worldwide in digitalized form, they also travel across time, their voices available if we choose to listen. In our

⁵ As Amsler also recognized for Candida Wu in the Jesuit mission in China; see *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, 153.

⁶ See for example, Wright, trans., *A Briefe Relation of the Persecution Lately Made Against the Catholike Christians*.

present day, the remote island of Kōzushima, on which Julia resided during her exile, has become a place of spiritual and secular pilgrimage, marked by a cross erected to her memory in the 1980s that is depicted on the front cover of this book.⁷ Evangelized Korean women are still moving others to travel the world following the path of their spiritual experiences.

7 See for example, the long-running “Julia Festival” on the website of the Kōzushima Tourism Association: <https://kozushima-tokyo.com/discover/>. On the afterlives of the evangelized Korean woman known to missionaries as Julia, see studies by Park Hyunok 박현옥, “Mori reikoui ‘samchaeui yeoja’ron – Joseon yeoin Ota Julliareul jungsimeuro.” 모리 레이코의 『삼채의 여자』 론 - 조선 여인 오타 줄리아를 중심으로 [Mori Reiko’s *Sansai (Three Color) Women*: Focusing on the Korean woman Ota Julia]; Park Hyunok 박현옥, “Endo syusakuui ‘Yuriago bureuneun yeoja’ron – ‘Yuria’e tuyeongdoen Ota Julliaui imji.” 엔도 슈사쿠의 「유리아라고 부르는 여자」론 - 「유리아」에 투영된 오타 줄리아의 이미지- [The image of Ota Julia projected in Endō Shūsaku’s *A Woman Called Yuria*]; Park Hyunok 박현옥, “Gojeusima (Sinjindo)ui Joseonin ‘Oda Jyuria’ui suhosinjeok seonggyeokgwa keuriseucheon chumojeui wisang.” 고즈시마(神津島)의 조선인 ‘오다 줄리아’의 守護神적 성격과 크리스천 추모제의 위상 [Status of the Festival and Guardian God, Christian Oda Julia, a Korean in Kozushima]; No, Sung Hwan 魯成煥 / 노성환, “Joseonin imnanporo oda jyuriae gwanhan ilgochal.” 조선인 임란포로 오다 줄리아에 관한 일고찰 [A study of the Christian Ota Julia].

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